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A SHORT HISTORY OF THE NEAR EAST

Philip K. Hitti, Professor Emeritus, Princeton University

Professor Hitti, the eminent scholar of Near Eastern history, says in his Preface, "What facts to choose from the inexhaustible storehouse of the Near East historical past, how to set these facts in the proper narrative flow—the context of what precedes and what follows—and how to make the whole intelligible and meaningful to the general reader of the present day was the uneasy task confronting the author. The task was made more difficult by the fact that in terms of time the period covered includes all three: ancient, medieval, and modern; and in terms of area it is so vast as to contain Egyptians, Babylonians, and Assyrians; Phoenicians and Hebrews; Turks, Persians, and Arabs." In spite of the substantial task with which the author was confronted, he has succeeded in skillfully depicting the unique experience of Near Eastern civilization. The text can be used for one-semester courses in Near Eastern history, as a supplementary text, or as general reading for the interested layman. *January 1966.*

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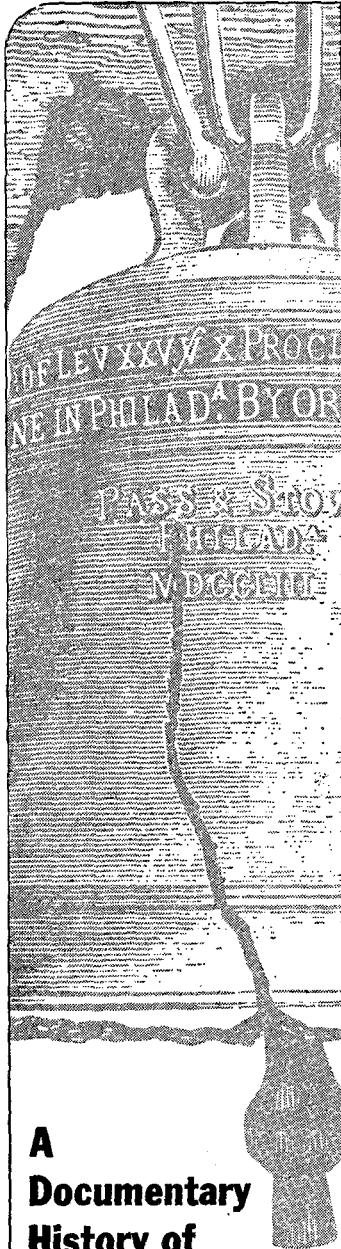
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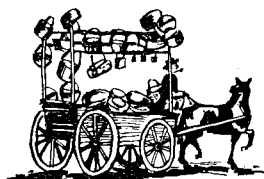
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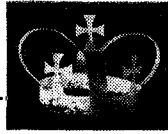
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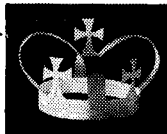
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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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At the Roots of Republicanism

FREDERIC C. LANE*

A PROMINENT characteristic of the writing of history in the United States since 1940 has been the retreat from the economic interpretation. In American history it is sometimes expressed by attacks on Charles Beard. In the interpretation of the French Revolution and the associated group of "democratic revolutions" economic conditions now receive less attention than do political situations and political conceptions.¹ In the storm over the gentry and the Puritan revolution in seventeenth-century England the idea of class has been thoroughly torn to pieces.² A somewhat similar reinterpretation of the history of such Italian city-states as Venice and Florence subordinates classes to republicanism.

* Mr. Lane, professor of history at Johns Hopkins University, delivered this presidential address at the Hilton Hotel, San Francisco, California, December 29, 1965.

¹ R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760-1800* (2 vols., Princeton, N. J., 1959, 1964), esp. II, 572-75.

² Jack H. Hexter, "Storm over the Gentry," in *Reappraisals in History*, ed. *id.* (London, 1961); Perez Zagorin, "The Social Interpretation of the English Revolution," *Journal of Economic History*, XIX (Sept. 1959), 376-401.

My thesis here is that republicanism, not capitalism, is the most distinctive and significant aspect of these Italian city-states, that republicanism gave to the civilization of Italy from the thirteenth through the sixteenth century its distinctive quality and very largely explains the intensity shown in imitating classical antiquity. The attempt to revive the culture of the ancient city-states strengthened in turn the republican ideal and contributed mightily to its triumph later in modern nations and primarily in our own.

Applying to my own generation the method it has delighted to apply to earlier generations of historians, I cannot fail to observe that the obvious explanation of the general retreat from economic interpretations is to be found in the changing political situation. Not only the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union but also the tyranny and rigidity of postwar Communism threw shadows of suspicion and disgust over Marxist history and then by association over all kinds of economic interpretation. These extraneous influences intensified a reaction of which one can find beginnings in historical studies before 1940.

Fortunately the retreat from economic interpretations has not been accompanied by any retreat from economic history. On the contrary, freed from distracting demands to supply data that might be used to serve economic interpretations of politics, art forms, and other phenomena outside its own sphere, economic history has been better able to concentrate on questions concerning the amount and distribution of production and its methods. As a result of more knowledge about variations in economic growth, we can no longer attribute a progressive commercialization of culture in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to a growing volume of trade and wealth in those same centuries.³ Economic growth has not been continuous. Between 1300 and 1500 there were severe downward movements in population and production, and the recoveries were spotty. A more vigorous, more general growth in population and trade occurred earlier, during the so-called Age of Faith in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁴

For the Italian city-states, the so-called Age of Faith was in fact also an age of capitalism, if we mean by capitalism a society so organized that men

³ This is the view strongly implied by Alfred von Martin, *Sociology of the Renaissance* (New York, 1963), I.

⁴ Conflicting views are expressed in the articles of Carlo M. Cipolla, Robert S. Lopez, and Harry A. Miskimin in the *Economic History Review*. (Robert S. Lopez and Harry A. Miskimin, "The Economic Depression of the Renaissance," *Economic History Review*, Ser. 2, XIV [Apr. 1962], 408-26; Carlo M. Cipolla, "The Economic Depression of the Renaissance?" *ibid.*, XVI [Apr. 1964], 519-24; Robert S. Lopez, "The Economic Depression of the Renaissance?" *ibid.*, 525-27; Harry A. Miskimin, "The Economic Depression of the Renaissance?" *ibid.*, 528-29.) Although Cipolla rejects Lopez' arguments for a "depression of the Renaissance," he does not dispute the rapid growth in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

can make money by investing their capital.⁵ Traveling merchants were beginning to be replaced by resident or sedentary merchants who were able by paper work to control transactions at a distance. The successful search for early documents regarding banking, double-entry bookkeeping, and big business partnerships has given more and more reason to date their beginnings in the thirteenth century, and the more we discover of the capitalistic aspects of the economic life of that age the closer appear the links between its civilization and that of ensuing centuries.⁶

This commercialized atmosphere certainly conditioned the way republicanism developed, as did also the appearance of the new classes: merchant capitalists, shopkeepers, craftsmen, and day laborers. Without the conditions created by economic developments, the new political institutions would have been practically unthinkable. One can accept that much of the economic interpretation while rejecting the Marxist theory of the state, namely, the view that all government is essentially the dictatorship of one class over another and that class struggles are the determinants of political developments. New political programs appeared in response to new economic conditions, but they were not class programs. An examination of the main stages in the development of republicanism shows that political ideas and actions pitted men of the same economic class against each other and brought men of different economic status together seeking common goals.

I use the word republicanism to summarize one set of goals: the rejection of hereditary kingship in order to devise other forms of government that their creators believed would permit and encourage more men to participate more actively in making laws and choosing leaders.

In this development, the first step toward republicanism was local independence. Only through the autonomy of small units could a substantial portion of the men in a political unit be given a share in decision making. A feudal kingdom containing millions from whom the king summoned a few hundred notables before making any declaration of law was less republican, for example, in our sense, than a city of twenty to fifty thousand

⁵ This meaning of capitalism is applied by Oliver C. Cox, *The Foundations of Capitalism* (New York, 1959), but for Karl Marx the essential feature was "the division of classes between propertyless wage-earners and entrepreneurs who own capital." (R. H. Hilton, "Capitalism—What's in a Name?" *Past and Present* [No. 1, 1952], 32-43.)

⁶ Armando Saporì, "La cultura del mercante medievale italiano," *Rivista di storia economica*, II (No. 2, 1937), tr. in *Enterprise and Secular Change: Readings in Economic History*, ed. Frederic C. Lane and Jelle C. Riemersma (Homewood, Ill., 1953), 53-65; Raymond de Roover, "The Commercial Revolution of the Thirteenth Century," *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society* (No. 16, 1942), 34-39, and "The Organization of Trade," in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, III. On double entry and especially on the different meanings that he and De Roover give the term, see also Federigo Melis, *Aspetti della vita economica medievale: Studi nell'Archivio Datini di Prato* (Siena, 1962), I, 391-403. On banking, see Roberto Sabatino Lopez, *La prima crisi della banca di Genova, 1250-1259* (Milan, 1956).

where as many as a thousand gathered in the town square or cathedral, arguing, cursing, shouting, and perhaps also voting their approval and disapproval of laws and leaders. Unless these units of ten thousand to a hundred thousand had been insistent on their autonomy, laws and leaders would have been imposed on them from the outside. Independent, they became exponents of republicanism both in principle and in practice. They acted on the principle that rulers derived their powers from the people. Although the idea that the community was the ultimate source of political authority was carried over from antiquity in Roman law, kings and emperors who were accustomed to using the hierarchic descending theme showed marked reserve about embracing an ascending theme which might strengthen them against the pope, but might weaken their authority over their own subjects. The Italian cities felt no such restraints.⁷ Venice, the longest lived of these republics, expressed its claim to independence from the Byzantine Empire through the election of its own doge, and used that independence to turn the doge into a republican magistrate. Later, in their fights against the Hohenstaufen emperors, many Italian communes won freedom from an outside control that would have reduced the number of townsmen taking part in government and restricted the extent to which they could make their own rules.⁸ Compared to all other political organizations prior to the American and French Revolutions, the government of the communes was, Robert Lopez declares, the one that offered to the "greatest number a chance to make their voice heard in the conduct of public business."⁹

These communal organizations were first formed in northern Italy, not mainly by merchants but by lower members of the feudal class. The association of knights as peers in a regional feudal court was one of the experiences that made joint local action seem natural and legitimate. To form a commune, various landowners joined together and pooled their rights, claiming to exercise jointly judicial and fiscal powers, fragments of which they might have asserted as individuals. They claimed, in addition, to speak for their bishop and exercise his temporal powers. The new kind of political organization would not have seemed practical or desirable, to be sure, without the commercial expansion of the twelfth century, but the leadership

⁷ Francesco Calasso, *Medioevo del diritto* (Milan, 1954), 182-83, 198, 209; Walter Ullmann, *Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages* (London, 1961), 219, 222-23, 296-97; Michael J. Wilks, *The Problem of Sovereignty in the Later Middle Ages: The Papal Monarchy with Augustinus Triumphus and the Publicists* (Cambridge, Eng., 1963), 184-85.

⁸ W. F. Butler, *The Lombard Communes* (London, 1906), 20, emphasizes the contrast between republicanism and feudalism. Antonio Pertile, *Storia del diritto italiano* (6 vols. in 8, Padua, 1880), II, Pt. I, describes the new republican institutions.

⁹ Robert S. Lopez, *Naissance de l'Europe* (Paris, 1962), 279.

which built republics on that economic base came not so much from a new class of merchants as from landowners who set their loyalty to a commune above that to any feudal superior.¹⁰

The success of communal republicanism depended on the readiness of its leaders to share power with others as equals. It is characteristic of a republic, as distinct from a monarchy, that when conflicts arise in its governing councils they are settled, not by deferring to the will of a superior, but by accepting the will of the majority. Where that principle prevailed, men rose to power not through the favor of a hereditary prince but by winning the confidence of men of their own rank or below.¹¹ In Venice, which had been largely commercial from its beginnings, republicanism was not firmly established until, in 1172, a group of the wealthiest families took control of the choice of doge and worked together, deferring among themselves to the vote of the majority and loyally taking second place when a rival was elected to the highest office. Sebastian Ziani and Enrico Dandolo are the best known of the group, but even more significant were Pietro Ziani and Rainiero Dandolo, their sons, men of high ability who did not insist on succeeding their fathers. By their restraint even more than their success in office, this group gave living effectiveness to the constitutional provisions which at the end of the twelfth century transformed the dogeship into a republican magistracy.¹²

Popular participation in the government of these city-states, which at first was slight or informal, was increased by a thirteenth-century movement closely connected with the rise of new classes. With deceptive simplification this movement was called the rise of the people, *il popolo*. Actually

¹⁰ Ernesto Sestan, "La città comunale italiana," in *International Congress of Historical Sciences, XIth, Stockholm, 1960, Reports, III, Moyen Âge* (7 vols., Göteborg, 1960-62), 86-89; Luigi Simeoni, "Le origini del comune di Verona," *Nuovo archivio veneto*, New Ser., XXV (1913), 74-133. Cino Franceschino, "La vita sociale e politica nel Duecento," in *Storia di Milano* (16 vols., Milan, 1953-62), IV, 121, illustrates this spirit by citing a Milanese statute forbidding anyone losing a fief because of failure to render service against the city, "quia contra patriam suam, pro qua pugnare iure gentium debet, pro aliquo feudo adesse non compellitur." On "patria," see Gaines Post, *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought: Public Law and the State, 1100-1322* (Princeton, N. J., 1964), 441-44, 449. Enrico Fiumi, "Fioritura e decadenza dell' economia fiorentina," *Archivio storico italiano*, CXVII (No. 4, 1959), 487-92, while admitting that nobles had a prominent part, argues that in Tuscany the lead was taken by landowning merchants.

¹¹ Obviously republicanism as I here use the term is more nearly equivalent to what Mosca calls liberalism and not necessarily linked with the social-political mobility that he terms democracy. (Gaetano Mosca, *The Ruling Class*, tr. H. D. Kahn, ed. G. A. Livingston [New York, 1939], Chap. xv.) But mobility and liberalism were in fact linked together for some centuries, forming liberal democracies.

¹² Roberto Cessi et al., *Storia di Venezia, II, Dalle origini del Ducato alla quarta Crociata* (Venice: Centro Internazionale delle Arti e del Costume, 1958), 408-17, 442-47; Giuseppe Maranini, *La costituzione di Venezia dalle origini alla serrata del Maggior Consiglio* (Venice, 1927), 109-43.

three distinct aspects of change in class structure were involved. New families were acquiring wealth through commerce and investing it in land. At the same time families of inherited wealth invested in trade and became partially merchants. These two developments changed the character of the ruling class, but it is to be noted that they did so not through a class war but by class transformation, through absorption of new men and new methods. At the same time craftsmen and petty shopkeepers increased in numbers so as to form a distinct class ranking below the ruling class even by their own standards. While the newly rich were struggling to be accepted as equals by the old families, craftsmen and shopkeepers were demanding a share in power, although accepting a secondary social position. These contests destroyed republicanism in some places, but in others they strengthened it by stimulating the formation of institutions that widened popular participation.¹³

In Venice the new rich were absorbed into the ruling class without destroying that class's extraordinary solidarity, without the fierce factions that stained republicanism in so many other Italian cities. Crucial in this process was the reform of the Great Council in 1297, a reform misnamed "the closing" because the procedure then adopted was later used to restrict membership. Its immediate purpose and effect were to enlarge the membership. Between 1295 and 1311 the membership of the Great Council was increased from about 400 to 1,017. Analysis of the names of councilors shows that this was the culmination of a long process of acceptance of new men into positions of political importance.¹⁴

While republicanism was being more firmly rooted at Venice by the acceptance of new families into its ruling class, it was also receiving re-enforcement from the formation of guilds, which gave some self-government to artisans and shopkeepers. Just as municipal particularism was essential to enable more men to take part directly in making the decisions that affected them all as inhabitants of the same city, so professional particularism was the means by which more men gained a part in framing the rules that regulated their activities as members of an occupational group and in choosing its officials. In both cases participation by a larger percentage of its membership was made possible by the smaller size of the rules-making group. Of course if the principle had been carried to its extreme and each

¹³ Its architectural expression in large halls is pointed out in Helene Wieruszowski, "Art and the Commune in the Time of Dante," *Speculum*, XIX (Jan. 1944), 14-33.

¹⁴ Margarete Merore, "Der Grosse Rat von Venedig und die sogenannte Serrata von Jahre 1297," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, XXI (1928), 33-102; Roberto Cessi, *Le origini del ducato veneziano* (Naples, 1951), Chap. xi, and *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia* (2 vols., Milan, 1944), I, 265-70.

guild had become as particularistic as was each Italian city-state, there would have been anarchy within the cities, just as there was a kind of anarchy in intercity relations. In some cities the subordinate units within the city—craft guilds, trade associations, and family leagues—did destroy civic peace. But at Venice the guilds were given a strictly limited role. Their members could initiate rules governing their particular trade and could distribute among themselves the honors and duties of enforcing these rules, but in these activities they were subject to officials chosen directly or indirectly by the Great Council in which the guilds were not represented. Guildsmen as such were only second-class citizens, yet they had citizenship of a kind.¹⁵

Thus consolidated, the Venetian Republic gained a high reputation for the success with which it solved many problems in state building that were to confront European governments during the next few centuries, namely, upholding public law over private privilege and vengeance, curbing the Church's political influence, and inventing mercantilist measures to increase wealth. Byzantine traditions and the relative weakness of professional organizations at Venice made it easier to establish there a coordination of social life under the sovereignty of the republic.

In Florence, as in most Italian city-states, new men were not accepted so smoothly into the ruling class; the artisan-shopkeeper class was not so easily satisfied; and the coordination of all social life by republican means was less complete. Since old families which had established the commune were less willing to share the honors and powers of office with the newly rich, the latter had to shove their way up. They did so by forming guilds of their own and allying with the artisans and shopkeepers. In Florence the crucial document in this development was the Ordinances of Justice of 1293, which the Florentines regarded as their basic constitution. Not so long ago, when economic interpretation was the vogue, these ordinances were believed to represent the triumph of merchant capitalists over feudal landlords.¹⁶ But merchants and landlords did not form separate classes at Florence at that time. Successful merchants were also landowners, and most of the big landowners were either merchants themselves or had brothers and sons so en-

¹⁵ This definitely inferior kind of citizenship of the guildsmen is described as a sharing in elective honors by Gasparo Contarini, *De Magistratibus & repub. Venetorum libri quinque* (Basel, 1547), 196–97. But to equate guild membership, even of artists, with citizenship in a general glorification of Venetian republicanism may be going too far. Cf. H. G. Koenigsberger, "Decadence or Shift? Changes in the Civilization of Italy and Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Ser. 5, X (1960), 9–10.

¹⁶ The classic statement of this view is the youthful work of Gactano Salvemini, *Magnati e popolani in Firenze del 1280 al 1295* (Florence, 1899). It appears somewhat modified in Robert Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz* (4 vols., Florence, 1896–1927), and in Ferdinand Schevill, *History of Florence* (2 vols., New York, 1961), I, 156.

gaged and were quite ready to marry a daughter to a merchant provided he was sufficiently rich and of good repute. The wealth that enabled new families to enter the ruling class was derived mainly from trade, industry, or banking, but once arrived the newly rich bought land for economic as well as social reasons and merged their manners and political attitudes with the class to which they had attained. When that class divided on a political issue, as did the Florentine upper class in 1293, it was not in accordance with any division between merchants and landlords, for there was in fact no such division.¹⁷

The problem that the Florentine Ordinances of Justice most obviously attempted to solve was the enforcement of law and order on members of the upper class who conducted feuds among themselves, inflicting violence heedlessly on those who got in the way. Enforcing obedience to general or civic law was a major issue in many parts of Europe in the late thirteenth century. The king was the rallying point for such efforts in France and England. In Florence it was a portion of the ruling class of the city-state, a group of the landowning merchants, who put through a program for upholding civic law and penalizing those of their own class who held to knightly ideals of personal privilege. Their efforts at law enforcement were not notably successful, but in organizing for this purpose they expanded republican institutions. Guild membership was made the basis of political rights, and membership in the guilds was not hereditary. The new rich as well as the old rich were admitted to the great merchant guilds from which the rulers of the city-state were mainly chosen, and obscure parentage did not prevent the admission of either an outstanding scholar such as Leonardo Bruni or a rich businessman such as il Datini.¹⁸ At the same time, the shopkeepers and many of the artisans were permitted to organize guilds and were empowered through their guilds to have some of their members in the highest offices of state, as well as to formulate much of the regulation governing their own line of business. The larger role given the guilds made Florentine republicanism more disorderly but also more democratic than the republicanism of Venice.

¹⁷ Nikola Ottokar, *Il Comune di Firenze alla fine del Duecento* (Florence, 1926); Johan Plesner, *L'Émigration de la Compagne à la ville libre de Florence* (Copenhagen, 1939); Enrico Fiumi, "Sui rapporti economici tra città e contado nella età comunale," *Archivio storico italiano*, CXIV (No. 1, 1956), 18-36, and "Fioritura e decadenza dell'economia fiorentina," *ibid.*, CXV (No. 4, 1957), 395-401, 429-39, CXVI (No. 4, 1958), 482-96, CXVII (No. 4, 1959), 427-502; Marvin B. Becker, "Some Aspects of Oligarchical, Dictatorial, and Popular Signorie in Florence, 1282-1382," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, II (The Hague, 1959-60), 421-24.

¹⁸ Lauro Martines, *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists, 1390-1460* (Princeton, N. J., 1963), 165-76; Melis, *Aspetti della vita economica medievale*, I, 55; Iris Origo, *The Merchant of Prato, Francesco di Marco Datini* (New York, 1957), 69-70, 75, 140-48.

Because representation in the highest councils was distributed among the guilds, Florentine politics appeared to be dominated more than it actually was by class conflicts over economic issues. Certainly there were some clear-cut cases of class war, for example, when those who were forbidden to organize their own guilds tried in vain to gain that right, as in the proletarian Ciompi rebellion. But most political struggles were between factions within the merchant-landowning upper class. Even during the depressed decades of the fourteenth century, rich men of new families competed for power with "old families" who had achieved high office generations earlier. In each generation the "new men" were the champions of the sovereign state against special privilege.¹⁹

The issues agitating Florence and other turbulent Italian cities were the same as those troubling contemporary monarchies—juridical immunities, tax exemptions, and so on—but the methods of political contest in Florence were distinctively republican. They made provision for the desire of citizens to share directly in decision making, to have their turn in holding important offices, and in feeling the honor and responsibility. Today political liberty means to many people the protection of private individuals against arbitrary acts by government officials. This is a negative conception, perfectly compatible with a selfish lack of interest in public affairs.²⁰ It can lead to withdrawal in order to assert a kind of sovereignty over one's self. Florentine institutions offered a different ideal of liberty, not protection from government but a chance to be the government. Freedom was action, social and political action, and demanded virtuosity.²¹

In distributing high office among members of the guilds, extensive use was made of lots, of drawing names from a bag, since this seemed the best way of assuring a rotation in office. Practicing the craft or trade of the guild was not considered necessary in order to be admitted to its membership; the

¹⁹ G. A. Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society* (Princeton, N. J., 1962), esp. 390-91; Becker, "Signorie in Florence," 425-30, "An Essay on 'Novi Cives' and Florentine Politics, 1343-1382," *Mediaeval Studies*, XXIV (Toronto, 1962), 35-82, "Florentine 'Libertas,' Political Independents and 'Novi Cives,' 1372-78," *Traditio*, XVIII (1962), 393-407, "The Republican City State in Florence: An Inquiry into Its Origin and Survival, 1280-1434," *Speculum*, XXXV (Jan. 1960), 39-50, and "Florentine Popular Government," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, CVI (No. 4, 1962), 360-82.

²⁰ This conception dominates H. A. L. Fisher, *The Republican Tradition in Europe* (New York, 1911). He dismisses the Italian cities, saying, "Liberty in the sense of political independence and class privilege was better understood than liberty in the sense of political toleration. . ." (p. 18).

²¹ Hannah Arendt, *Between Past and Future* (New York, 1961), esp. 153-57, contrasts this virtuosity with the "free will" of Christian and philosophic traditions. "Liberté politique" is contrasted with "liberté civile" by C. L. Sismonde de Sismondi, *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge* (10 vols., Paris, 1840), X, Chap. viii. The institutions which Sismondi describes as essential to "liberté politique" are the same as those Tolomeo of Lucca considered appropriate to a republic which he calls, in the work cited below (note 29), a "regimen politicum."

guilds became as much election districts as occupational or professional groups; corruption was easy and took many forms. Real power almost always lay with some combination of the factions dividing the landowning-merchant class, either because of the large representation given their own guilds or because of the influence that their money, family connections, and personal prestige gave them in other guilds and among the people generally.²² Florence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was a corrupt republic, but it was republican all the same, just as our government is today. In the United States also chicanery, emotion, and self-interest are sometimes more important than appeals to reason in the competition of leaders for the support of their fellow citizens.

The peak of popular participation in government was reached in Italy in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. Thereafter it was curtailed in several ways: by the suppression of particularism to the extent that the smaller cities were conquered by the larger; by a decline in social mobility; and by the spread of despotism. But the extent to which republicanism declined in Italy between 1250 and 1450 has been exaggerated. Many of the *signori*, whom we call despots in following the tradition fixed by the literary brilliance of John Addington Symonds, were in fact as well as in theory elective monarchs bound by oath to maintain the law of the city.²³ They were the popular choice and were overthrown when they lost that support. Moreover the three leading commercial cities—Genoa, Florence, and Venice—remained republics. True, the republicanism of Genoa was expressed by deposing one would-be tyrant after another, as well as by the independence of the Bank of Saint George, but revolutions are as significant as the abuses that occasion them.²⁴ In Florence the Medici family finally overtopped all the others, but adopted a princely style only with Lorenzo, and was driven out as soon as Lorenzo's son neglected to consider the interests and dignity of the families with whose alliance the Medici had governed.²⁵ Venice avoided the dominance of any single family and perfected a system of checks and balances within its ruling class. Although this class became strictly hereditary, its members were about as numerous as were the Florentines qualified

²² See the studies of Becker and Brucker cited above in note 19 and the review of Brucker's book by L. F. Marks in *Past and Present*, XXV (July 1963), 80.

²³ John Addington Symonds, *The Renaissance in Italy, The Age of Despots* (London, 1875).

²⁴ Jacques Heers, *Gènes au xv siècle* (Paris, 1961), 563–611.

²⁵ L. F. Marks, "The Financial Oligarchy in Florence under Lorenzo," and Nicolai Rubinstein, "Politics and Constitution in Florence at the End of the Fifteenth Century," in *Italian Renaissance Studies: A Tribute to the Late Cecilia M. Ady*, ed. E. F. Jacob (London, 1960); Rudolf von Albertini, *Das Florentinische Staatsbewusstsein im Übergang von der Republik zum Prinzipat* (Bern, 1955), 15–18.

for officeholding.²⁶ Real power was concentrated in fewer hands at Florence than at Venice, because of electoral manipulation, but Florence was more democratic in admitting some of the artisan-shopkeepers to the higher offices and in keeping open avenues for the rise of new men.²⁷ Unskilled laborers were not, of course, eligible for office at any time either in Florence or Venice. All my references to popular participation must be understood in a relative sense, appropriate to that age.

While republicanism lived on enfeebled in practice, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it conquered new ground intellectually. Defenders of the principles of republicanism had not been lacking earlier. Thomas Aquinas revived many of the ideas developed by the Greeks and Romans. Basing his political theory on Aristotle as well as on the Bible, he wrote more about city-states than about feudalism or universal empire, and he opened a channel for the later flood of republican theorizing by digging out within Christian theology a respectable, even an important place, for man as a citizen. Although he declared in favor of monarchy, St. Thomas praised popularly elected, law-abiding monarchies, which combined the best features of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy.²⁸ One of his disciples, Tolomeo of Lucca, was more explicit. Tolomeo explained why a republican rotation of many men through public offices was the form of government that best suited men of high spirit and intelligence such as the Italians, whatever might be good for men in other climes.²⁹ Marsilius of Padua, building also on Aristotelian premises, asserted popular sovereignty more absolutely.³⁰ But these discussions between 1250 and 1350 of the advantages and disadvantages of monarchy had a relatively detached, academic air. The form of government was a secondary matter to Thomas Aquinas; the essential for him was observance of the natural and divine law, and the burning issue of his time was the temporal power of the pope or the relations of Church and state.

²⁶ Francesco Guicciardini, "Dialogo del reggimento di Firenze," in *Opere*, XXX, ed. Vittorio de Caprariis (Milan, 1953), 268–69, emphasized that "la plebe" was excluded in both cities and that the Venetian nobility were as numerous as qualified Florentines.

²⁷ Hans Baron, "The Social Background of Political Liberty in the Early Italian Renaissance," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, II (The Hague, 1959–60).

²⁸ Walter Ullmann, "The Individual in Medieval Society," Lecture III, "The Humanistic Thesis: The Release of the Subject and His Emergence as a Citizen," Lecture delivered at Johns Hopkins University in 1965; Étienne Gilson, *Le Thomisme* (5th ed., Paris, 1948), 455–59; and A. P. d'Entrèves's introd. to Thomas Aquinas, *Selected Political Writings*, tr. J. G. Dawson (Oxford, Eng., 1918).

²⁹ Since Tolomeo (often called Ptolemy of Lucca) continued the *De Regimine Principum ad regem Cipri* begun by Aquinas, Tolomeo's ideas on republicanism may be found in Thomas Aquinas, *Opera Omnia secundum impressionem Petri Fiaccadori Parmae, 1852–1873* (reprint, 25 vols., New York, 1950), XVI, *De Regimine Principum*, Lib. II, Chaps. viii–x, and especially in Lib. IV.

³⁰ Marsilius of Padua, *The Defensor Pacis*, tr. with introd. by A. Gewirth (2 vols., New York, 1956); C. W. Previté-Orton, "Marsiglio of Padua, Part II, Doctrines," *English Historical Review*, XXXVIII (Jan. 1923), 1–17.

These issues became secondary in Italy when republican theories attained a new and practical importance after 1400 in conjunction with Florentine humanism. By 1400 the leading despots had abandoned all pretense of being popularly elected monarchs. The most powerful among them, the Visconti of Milan, had sought and received sanction of their power from above, from the emperor, and were adding to their domains so rapidly that they seemed likely to unite Italy under a Milanese monarch; at least it seemed that way to the Florentines. Supporters of the Visconti extolled the advantages of Italian unity under efficient administration in contrast to republican anarchy. In this situation Florentine patriots presented their defense of their own particularism as a general defense of freedom and republicanism.

The intellectual reverberations of this war propaganda were magnified by the rhetoric of that generation of Florentines who trumpeted their unlimited enthusiasm for humanistic studies. The leader of these civic humanists, as Hans Baron appropriately calls them, was Leonardo Bruni.³¹ Many of their specific arguments for considering republics better than monarchies, for example, the assertion that republics did more to stimulate virtue, had been suggested earlier by Thomas and Tolomeo.³² The civic humanists gave the issue personal meaning and applied it to their own historical situation. By treating monarchy as practically indistinguishable from tyranny, they identified themselves fully with republicanism. They glorified the Roman Republic, to the disparagement of the Roman emperors, rescued Brutus, the tyrannicide, from the place in hell to which Dante had consigned him, and instead of reproaching Cicero for neglecting literature out of preoccupation with politics, extolled him as an exemplar of the finest manly activity, the defense of liberty and general welfare in public life. This identification of their own republicanism and their own hatred of tyranny with the sentiments recorded in Greek and Roman literature was taken up in Venice also, which finally allied with Florence against the Visconti. In Venice and Florence men active in both the world of letters and in affairs of state applied political theories to current concerns in which the central issue was the nature and value of republican freedom.³³

The republicanism of the Florentine humanists faded when the Visconti were crushed, and the only state that showed any possibility of dominating all Italy was the Venetian Republic. But the ideas of the civic humanists

³¹ Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny* (2 vols., Princeton, N. J., 1955).

³² Aquinas, *De Regimine Principum*, Lib. I, Chap. III, Lib. II, Chap. IX, Lib. IV, Chap. VIII.

³³ Baron, *Crisis*, I; C. C. Bayley, *War and Society in Renaissance Florence* (Toronto, 1961), Chaps. III-V; N. Carotti, "Un politico umanista del Quattrocento," *Rivista storica italiana*, Ser. 5, II (No. 2, 1937), 18-28.

were revived vigorously in Florence at the end of the century in the republican enthusiasm that accompanied the expulsion of the Medici. Francesco Guicciardini, Niccolò Machiavelli, and many other Florentines then went far beyond the humanists in systematic thinking about how their corrupt republic, or any corrupt republic, might acquire new and better institutions.³⁴ Machiavelli is best known for advising princes to be unscrupulous. Like a daring physician trying to cure a patient in a desperate condition, he had the courage to prescribe poison, but his standard of health was republican.³⁵ While the last Florentine Republic was being destroyed by Spanish and papal armies, its extremist leaders exalted the will of the people in a fashion that anticipated the Jacobins of the French Revolution, and similarly turned the slogans of liberty into instruments of temporary tyranny.³⁶ Caustic moderates like Guicciardini had meanwhile perfected the analysis of ancient and modern city-states in search of norms for an ideal constitution. They could depict their standards more concretely because there was one republic of their own time in which they saw them embodied, namely Venice. Impressed by Venetian prosperity and safety in spite of the clash of powerful monarchies that destroyed freedom elsewhere in Italy, Donato Gianotti first and then Gasparo Contarini created in the mid-sixteenth century a picture of Venice as the perfectly organized republic.³⁷ This benign analysis lulled the Venetians into stagnation, but furnished inspiration to the scarce and struggling republicans of the seventeenth century.³⁸

From its alliance with humanism, republicanism thus acquired the self-consciousness and sophistication that enabled it to survive as a fermenting element in the Western tradition even when it disappeared almost entirely from practice. The contrast between Italy and Northern Europe is striking. The growth of communes out of feudalism had not been restricted to Italy. Beyond the Alps also, men had formed these local units of self-government, and in some areas they had gained considerable autonomy. But the northern communes left no republican literary tradition comparable to that

³⁴ Albertini, *Florentinische Staatsbewusstsein*; Felix Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini: Politics and History in Sixteenth-Century Florence* (Princeton, N. J., 1965), esp. 93-97.

³⁵ Leopold von Ranke, *Sämtliche Werke* (54 vols. in 25, Leipzig, 1875-1900), XXXIV, 174*. On Machiavelli's republicanism, see also Hans Baron, "Machiavelli: The Republican Citizen and the Author of the Prince," *English Historical Review*, LXXVI (Apr. 1961). Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini*, 171-79, also emphasizes his antiaristocratic republicanism. A good review of earlier discussions is Eric W. Cochrane, "Machiavelli, 1940-1960," *Journal of Modern History*, XXXIII (June 1961), 113-36.

³⁶ Albertini, *Florentinische Staatsbewusstsein*, 124-29.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 113-14, 146-64; Herman Hackert, *Die Staatschrift Gasparo Contarini's und die politischen Verhältnisse Venedigs in sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg, 1940).

³⁸ Perez Zagorin, *A History of Political Thought in the English Revolution* (London, 1954), 130, 141; Z. S. Fink, "Venice and English Political Thought in the Seventeenth Century," *Modern Philology*, XXXVIII (Nov. 1940), 155-72.

of the Italians. Their embryonic republicanism did not receive the same degree of stimulus from the revival of antiquity.

The junction between republicanism and humanism in Italy was not fortuitous. Although Petrarch was as much a friend of tyrants as of republicans, devotees of classical literature were likely to discover, sooner or later, whether because of the Visconti threat or some other incident, the similarity between their situation and that in the ancient city-states. Again men were deliberately attempting to shape institutions that would spread the powers of governing among the citizens and yet prevent a popular favorite from making himself master. Success was rare in either case. Tyranny as well as republicanism were experiences that the Italian cities shared with the ancient Greeks and Romans.

Ever since Christianity had triumphed over paganism, now one, now another aspect of classical antiquity had been studied with admiration in the West. The so-called revival of antiquity in fifteenth-century Italy was different only in being more nearly complete and in having distinctive emphases.³⁹ For the first time there was a revival of the ancient attitude toward political life. The passionate concern of the civic humanists with politics made them understand, better than Petrarch ever could, why such men as Cicero had placed politics first. A St. Thomas could expound Aristotle's generalizations about political organization, but a man of his principles and temper could not convey the feeling that politics was the most important thing in life, the feeling that pulsates through Machiavelli's lines as it did through those of Thucydides and Livy.

The re-evaluation of politics created more sympathetic understanding of other aspects of classical civilization. It contributed much to a kind of self-consciousness that was less self-reliant than the individualism of the feudal nobles or the pioneering merchants of earlier centuries while it was more deliberate, more intellectual, and more devoted to those skills in verbal expression and communication that enabled men to compete and cooperate simultaneously in civic life. The change of values which occurred in the Italian city-states is sometimes said to have emphasized the qualities esteemed by merchants and productive of success in trade. It is at least equally true that they were the qualities commanding admiration in political give and take, those which Alfred North Whitehead has called the qualities of persuasion.⁴⁰

³⁹ R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954).

⁴⁰ Alfred North Whitehead, *Adventures of Ideas* (New York, 1955), 75-76; Hans Baron, "A Sociological Interpretation of the Early Renaissance in Florence," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXXVIII (Oct. 1939), and his other articles there cited.

To summarize this interpretation: From the twelfth to the sixteenth century the feature which most distinguished Italian society from that in other regions of Europe was the extent to which men were able to take part in determining, largely by persuasion, the laws and decisions governing their daily lives. This republicanism was not a class product, although commercial growth was one prerequisite for its development. This republicanism strengthened and was in turn reinforced by the efforts to revive classical antiquity and the values connected with its humanism.⁴¹

Acceptance of this interpretation invites a change in the usual periodization of European history. If the republicanism of the city-states was so important, it deserves to be seen as a whole instead of being split and assigned half to one period, half to another, as is now so often done, thus divorcing the period of stabilization and rationalization from that in which the cities formed their basic republican institutions. Such a division obscures the amount of republicanism existing in both the Age of Faith and the Age of the Despots, so-called. An alternative is to treat the economic growth, the elaboration of republican institutions, and the changing artistic and intellectual climate as a closely connected whole spread over a period extending at least from 1200 to 1600, or possibly all the way from Sebastian Ziani to George Washington, an Age of Preindustrial Republicanism.

During those centuries European culture was being reshaped by many different movements, some of which had little connection one with the other. The antecedents explaining Europe's oceanic expansion are quite distinct from those relevant to the agitation for antipapal religious reform. Only a very narrow conception of life will stress just one aspect or consider a single cause sufficient to explain all the diversity of historical change. I am arguing only that the growth and transformations of republicanism deserve a place of honor equal to that accorded other themes.

We should not wait for Italian historians to take the lead in emphasizing this republican element in their history. Like contemporary members of the historical profession in other lands, including many members of the American Historical Association, they are largely concerned with the nationalism of their own nation. Many of them are preoccupied by the problem of national unity, even in describing a period in which such unity was conspicuous by its absence, and pay less attention to the content of republican institutions than to the near success of now one power, now another, in

⁴¹ My interpretation is similar to Wallace K. Ferguson's, but his emphasis on "urban laymen" seems to me to understate the significance of the contrast between Palermo or Paris on the one hand and Venice and Florence on the other. (Wallace K. Ferguson, "The Reinterpretation of the Renaissance," in *Facets of the Renaissance* [New York, 1963], 15-16.)

efforts to dominate the peninsula that was later to become their nation.⁴² As Americans we have reason to be less attracted by these repeated failures to effect Italian unity than by the successes and failures of the Italians as republicans.

When Charles Homer Haskins gave his presidential address to this Association a generation ago he urged Americans not to be content with receiving European history secondhand in packages prepared by European scholars, but to work it up for themselves firsthand from the sources. He stressed in 1922 the need of making our own evaluations of the "national psychologies" active in the First World War and its settlement.⁴³ Let me urge a variation on that theme and one I think particularly relevant in these times of emphasis on non-Western cultures and their histories. Although that emphasis is certainly needed to correct past neglect, our central task as a historical profession is to examine our own cultural traditions. Now one part of that tradition, now another, needs re-examination as the problems of the historian's own time change. Most of our cultural traditions lead us back to Europe, but current problems take different forms in the various Western nations so that we have different needs in re-examining our complex common heritage. To learn what is of most value for us in European history we need to dig deep and assay the ore for ourselves.

When we look back into the growth there of our democratic ideals we of course find that the city-state was not their only source. It was only one of three main sources, although it is that to which we owe most of the language of politics, much of its machinery, and the very conception of government by the people. I can hardly do more than mention the others here, but do so in order to place my theme in better perspective. A second source was in the feudal parliamentary institutions that produced effective limitations on monarchy both in theory and practice and built the habit of government by representatives into the growth of nations of more size and power than could be embodied in any city-state. Running deepest and most varied in its manifestations have been the outpourings from the third source, namely, the idea of the rights and the worth of every human being. This conception of the dignity of human nature was cultivated by Stoic lawyers, Christian

⁴² The not yet existing nation naturally supplies the unifying theme in any history of Italy, e.g., Nino Valeri, *Storia d'Italia* (5 vols., Turin, 1959-60), I, and his excellent, *L'Italia dell'età dei principati: 1343-1516* (Milan, 1949). Armando Saporì, on the other hand, has emphasized the unity of the whole period 1100-1600 and the vitality of republican liberty. See his "Il Rinascimento economico," in Armando Saporì, *Studi di storia economica*, sec. xiii, xiv, xv (3d ed., 2 vols., Florence, 1955), I, 618-52, "Medioevo e Rinascimento," *Archivio storico italiano*, CXV (No. 2, 1957), 141-64, and *L'Età dell'rinascita* (Milan, 1958), 207-21.

⁴³ Charles H. Haskins, "European History and American Scholarship," *American Historical Review*, XXVIII (Jan. 1923), 215, 225.

divines, and eighteenth-century rationalists and is still receiving new applications. It asks that what was attempted for only a few communities in the city-state, and for only a few classes by feudal parliamentarianism, be effected for all men. The ideal has not been realized; all three democratic traditions, even that derived from the city-state, can boast of being a tradition of failure in the sense that it embodies examples of behavior higher than were ever generally practiced.

Although Athens and Rome were the fountainheads of our republican heritage from the city-states, we received that legacy by transmission through the Italians who lived in republics from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. To republican practices in a pagan society worshiping local and family deities, the Italians added centuries of their own experience within a Christian society. They established Greek and Roman authors as authorities on politics, a position that these authors occupied thereafter in Western thought. They added thereto their own aspiring but critical and often bitter reflections and formulated in terms of their experience the rules for mixing monarchic, aristocratic, and democratic elements so as to secure good government. When the upsetting of custom-established monarchy by the Puritan revolution gave seventeenth-century Englishmen reason to speculate about the best form of government, Machiavelli's republicanism became better understood. James Harrington praised him as "the sole retriever" of ancient prudence and hailed Venice as a model republic proving that a skillful mixture of institutions could overcome human weaknesses and defy time. Although these English republicans were swept aside by the Restoration, their good name and their ideas were cultivated during the eighteenth century by writers and agitators known as the "Commonwealthmen," and it was these radicals who pulled together antimonarchic doctrines, drawing from all three sources of the democratic tradition, and supplied the material used by the pamphleteers of the American Revolution.⁴⁴

The founding fathers of this republic knew the republican tradition of the Italian city-states not only through the English Commonwealthmen but also by firsthand study. Seeking lessons from the city-states of Italy as well as from those of antiquity, they formulated their own judgments on that experience. John Adams, for example, completely rejected the idealization of the Venetian constitution, which had found favor among the classical republicans of seventeenth-century England. He looked on all the European

⁴⁴ Z. S. Fink, *The Classical Republicans* (2d ed., Evanston, Ill., 1962), Chaps. II, III; Caroline Robbins, *The Eighteenth Century Commonwealthmen: Studies in the Transmission, Development and Circumstance of English Liberal Thought from the Restoration of Charles II until the War with the Thirteen Colonies* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), esp. 386; *Pamphlets of the American Revolution, 1750-1776*, ed. Bernard Bailyn (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), I, 28-29.

republics as utter failures. Their vices were evidence of the corruption of the Old World, but they were instructive failures, "full of excellent warnings," he said, for the people of America, "the young of the New World."⁴⁵

A John Adams writing today would probably say that the warnings are particularly relevant now when our republicanism has become similarly old and corrupt. We are very different, to be sure, because industrialization has changed social structure, and political communities are now huge and bureaucratic. New technologies and new methods of production have changed the ways in which individuals can have a part in making laws and choosing leaders. Democratic ideals are being transformed in the light of these new possibilities and difficulties. At the same time the aspirations that history has built into us are themselves at work shaping new institutions to meet these conditions. If ideas were entirely determined by class interests, the aims and practices of the Italian cities would be worthy of attention only as reflections of a particular system of production. But there is a kind of life in ideas that enables them to pass from one social setting to another, changing somewhat in the process but contributing to the formation of social structures as well as receiving new meanings in new environments. Ideas born in Athens lived in Florence and are alive today.

The politics of Florence and Venice were very different from our own, certainly. In order to understand them we should start by putting aside concern with current problems and by entering into their fears and their enthusiasms for what they perceived as liberty. Not only have material conditions and social structures changed, but the kind of lives individuals desire to live and the kind of persons they want to be have altered, with a corresponding change in the purposes for which political rights are sought. Men whose main concern is to prevent the government from interfering with their private lives can only by an imaginative effort sympathize with an insistence on rights that enabled individuals to be the government, that is, to be sometimes the persons responsible for giving orders. Perhaps that attitude will become more easily understandable if citizens now, instead of continuing on the defensive against bureaucracy, undertake an offensive not to limit but to infiltrate it. That is only one possibility; an appreciation of the range of differences within our republican past widens the range of action that is possible in the present as we adapt our ideas to a new situation and thereby create new elements at work in that situation.

⁴⁵ John Adams, "A Defense of the Constitution of the United States of America," in *The Works of John Adams*, ed. Charles Francis Adams (10 vols., Boston, 1851), V, 332, accompanied by extensive discussions of Venice, Florence, and so forth, in IV and V.

The Financing of the Whig Party Organization, 1783-1793

DONALD E. GINTER*

THE tone and techniques of opposition politics in Great Britain began to undergo a fundamental change during the closing years of the American war. New evidence indicates that the tendency among opposition in the decade from 1783 to 1793 was to place every aspect of their party organization on a more permanent and centralized basis.¹ By 1789 the organizational activities of the Whig opposition were coordinated under the direction of a political manager, William Adam.² Party funds were subscribed to support these activities, and an attempt was made to extend and strengthen the party's influence over the conduct of members of Parliament by creating a permanent establishment for canvassing and for the sending of whips.

At the same time the party instituted a variety of political clubs whose proceedings were calculated to instill into those who attended a loyalty and enthusiasm for the leaders and programs of the Whig opposition. Through these clubs and by means of addressing movements, the distribution of liter-

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¹ Full access to the papers of William Adam was granted by Captain C. K. Adam of Blair-Adam.

² William Adam (1751-1839), during this period M.P. for the Wigtown burghs (1780-1784) on the interest of Lord North through Lord Stair; for the Elgin burghs (1784-1790) on the interest of his father-in-law, the tenth Lord Elphinstone; and for Ross-shire (1790-Apr. 1794) on the interest of F. H. Mackenzie. William's father, John Adam of Maryburgh, and his uncle, Robert, were the famous architects. From the outset of his political career in 1774 Adam had consciously pursued a reputation as a parliamentary man of business, specializing in election committees. From 1774 to 1780 he remained studiously independent and awaited his opportunities. Although attracted by the personality of Charles Fox, Adam followed the path of preference and by 1780 or 1781 was a close political adviser of Lord North and an intimate companion of North's eldest son, George Augustus. In 1783 he and G. A. North were two of the principal negotiators of the Fox-North coalition. In 1783-1784 Adam seems to have played a prominent role as a parliamentary whip for the coalition, and during the spring of 1784 he attempted to coordinate on behalf of the Duke of Portland the party's efforts in the general election. As the party prepared for its struggle with Pitt in late 1788, in the words of Adam: "The whole party with one voice & the Duke of Portland with greatest affection said no person could do so meritorious an act as I would if I would undertake the Office of Secretary to the Treasury." Adam's sense of honor and duty would not allow him to relinquish his managerial responsibilities, even when the possibility of a regency collapsed and the hope of suitable remuneration faded. (William Adam to John Adam of Maryburgh, Jan. 8, 1789, Blair-Adam MSS.) He was still performing them for the Foxite remnant after the final split in the party in 1794.

ature, and the employment of newspapers, the party broke out of the restrictive parliamentary orientation that had characterized opposition politics in the mid-eighteenth century and turned to the country at large for support of its programs and personnel. The propaganda activities of the Whig party were facilitated and placed on a more regular footing by engaging a party headquarters for such activities in Pall Mall. General elections were no longer fought exclusively by individuals and their immediate friends through *ad hoc* committees. Adam and the Duke of Portland directed and coordinated general election campaigns from offices in Burlington House and sent party agents and funds from London into constituencies that seemed to demand and justify expenditure. Moreover, they not only intervened in those constituencies in which party candidates had themselves decided to stand a contest; they also negotiated and expended funds in an effort to seek out and secure new seats for members of the party who had not been able to find a likely constituency by their own efforts.

It is not certain why this fundamental change in the pattern and scope of political activity occurred. It may have been partially the result of pressures increasingly exerted by Edmund Burke and others in the late 1770's toward developing the extraparlimentary interest of the Rockingham opposition, but then it must be remembered that Burke does not seem to have played an effective and confidential role in the party's organization after the death of Rockingham in 1782, and it was only after Rockingham's death that the developments just described finally occurred. More weight should probably be placed upon the unprecedented financial and political resources at the disposal of the united opposition after 1783; the anxieties of managing a restive Parliament in the shadow of an obviously hostile crown in 1783, and the habits of management formed during that period; and the reinforcement and elaboration of those habits during the disappointing, though somehow exhilarating, months between the accession of Pitt and the general election of 1784. More difficult to assess, but perhaps most significant of all, were the political discontent and pressures that were increasing in Scotland during these same years.³

Probably the most important of these innovations for the development of party organization, and that which most clearly indicates a subordination of

³ It is worth noting that William Adam and Sir Thomas Dundas (1741-1820), the brother-in-law of Lord Fitzwilliam and heir to one of the most extensive Scottish and English political interests, were the principal links between the party in London and the normally more ambitious Whig leaders and managers in Scotland. The most authoritative work on the development of party in the eighteenth century is indisputably John Brooke's introduction to *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1754-1790*, ed. Sir Lewis Namier and John Brooke (3 vols., London, 1964), I. See also Archibald S. Foord, *His Majesty's Opposition, 1714-1830* (Oxford, Eng., 1964).

personal to party interest, was the establishment and provision for the coordinated administration of party funds. By the early 1790's the political activities of the Whig opposition were financed by three separate party funds which were raised by subscription among its members. The first fund was raised by annual subscription for general purposes, while the two others resulted from special subscriptions in connection with the Westminster election of 1788 and the general election of 1790. It is uncertain precisely when the annual subscription began. In 1793 Adam spoke as if Walsh, an agent of the party, had been in receipt of party funds since 1783.⁴ Lord Fitzwilliam, in a letter to Adam of August 2, 1793, related how another agent of the party, Joseph Richardson, the playwright and associate of Richard Sheridan, had been paid annually two hundred pounds by the party "out of the general subscription to newspapers, etc." since the failure of Richardson's *English Chronicle* "as far back as the end of the American war."⁵ A letter to the Duke of Portland from John Almon also testified to the existence of a general party fund dating at least from the ministerial changes of 1782-1783, for Almon reminded Portland that "the newspaper called the *General Advertiser* was allowed £300 per annum" by the party "for certain services" and that "the money was paid to the end of the year 1784" before financial difficulties arising out of the Westminster scrutiny caused payments to be suspended for two years.⁶ It seems clear, then, that at least since the early 1780's a number of the leaders of the party had annually subscribed to a general fund used for payments to newspapers and to individuals constantly in the service of the party and for various debts incurred by the party.

Before 1788 it is not clear who administered the fund, exactly who contributed, and in what amounts.⁷ After 1790, however, the more important details of the administration, collection, and subscription of the general fund

⁴ Adam to Fitzwilliam, Sept. 19, 1793, Milton MSS, Northamptonshire Record Office.

⁵ Fitzwilliam to Adam, Aug. 2, 1793, quoted in Arthur Aspinall, *Politics and the Press*, c. 1780-1850 (London, 1949), 451-52.

⁶ In 1787 payments were resumed, but on a reduced basis of two hundred pounds per annum. "This £200 per annum was paid by Mr. George Reid (who received the money from Lord Robert Spencer) to the year 1790, when the paper ceased. . . ." (Almon to Portland, July 21, 1794, quoted *ibid.*, 271-72.)

⁷ There is the draft of a letter in the Blair-Adam MSS dated about 1801 in which Adam recalled how long he had shielded the party leaders from creditors. The time span mentioned would date his activities from about 1784. On the other hand Dr. William Thomson in May 1786 "was engaged by Dr. [Samuel] Parr, by the Authority of a Committee," to contribute party literature to periodicals and newspapers. (Thomson to Lord Kinnoull, copy, July 1, 1792, Blair-Adam MSS.) Payments were negotiated and paid to Thomson by Sheridan, who seems to have continued as an active party manager in these matters long after his days as Undersecretary of the Treasury. (Cf. note 6, above, where payments were also being made by Spencer.) The "Committee" that was apparently sharing these duties was surely the *Esto Perpetua* Club at Thomas Becket's. (See note 38, below.) In the absence of direct evidence it should not be concluded that the amounts subscribed to the general fund were the same both before and after the 1788-1790 period, nor that the same persons subscribed.

are fully documented. The fund was administered by Adam. He received all bills for expenses incurred by the party and was empowered to draw upon the funds deposited for their payment. He assured Fitzwilliam in 1793 that he had been "the means of stopping many most teizing demands which would other wise find their way to Your Lordp or the Duke of Portland or Both." Each Lady Day, Adam sent circular notices to those who regularly subscribed, calling for their subscription. The Dukes of Portland and Devonshire, Lord Fitzwilliam, and Lord Robert Spencer each contributed two hundred pounds. Lord Derby contributed one hundred pounds. The contributions of Lords John, Frederick, G. A., and G. A. H. Cavendish were fifty pounds each. Thus the annual fund accumulated eleven hundred pounds yearly. The annuity and fees of Richardson and Walsh annually accounted for up to four hundred pounds of its expenditure, leaving something in excess of seven hundred pounds for other expenses.⁸

But seven hundred pounds per annum proved to be quite insufficient to cover all the party's additional expenses. In the summer of 1788 the Whigs had once more engaged in a Westminster contest that threatened to engulf them in debt. Barely five months later they were plunged into the furor of the regency crisis, and the disbursements then begun were extended and even increased during the preparations for the general election. To meet the enormous expenses arising from these contests the party established by special subscription two new and separately administered funds, one for the Westminster contest and one for the general election.

The Westminster fund was instituted as a result of the unusually expensive Westminster election of 1788 in which the party engaged on behalf of Lord John Townshend. The party in fact threw itself into the contest with all the energy and resources at its command and in the end contracted a staggering debt of over thirty thousand pounds.⁹ By the end of the summer party leaders sat back breathless, and some wondered what had happened. Burke wrote to Sir Gilbert Elliot of the futility of such huge expenditures on a single constituency, however much prestige it might carry. The expense of the last three contests at Westminster, he maintained, could have secured the

⁸ Adam to Fitzwilliam, July 4, Sept. 19, Oct. 31, 1793, Milton MSS; Fitzwilliam to Adam, Aug. 2, 1793, quoted in Aspinall, *Politics and the Press*, 451-52.

⁹ Burke to Sir Gilbert Elliot, Sept. 3, 1788, transcript in the Sheffield City Library. It was apparently customary for newspaper editors, booksellers and publishers, tavernkeepers, attorneys, election committee organizers, and the like not to expect or demand payment for services at the time those services were rendered. In many instances, including some found in this paper, payment was not seriously pressed until several years after the debt had been contracted. Superficially these creditors might seem to have been naïve and inept managers of their own affairs, for the "gentlemen" could not in fact always be trusted to pay their bills. But actually the extension of credit in this manner was essential and even profitable in a commercial and professional world in which patronage from people of political and social prominence counted for so much.

return of at least ten members for even the most expensive of the less open constituencies.

This expenditure is so much in defiance of all calculation, that one can only conceive it possible, by knowing that they who lay out their money when their blood is heated by a contest, would not advance, not only not the whole of what they thus spend, but in Truth little or nothing, on a Systematick speculation of a much greater advantage of the same kind seen calmly and at a distance. You will imagine perhaps, or you will hear, that this struggle was set on foot by Fox: No such thing. He was rather against it: so was the Duke of Portland so was I. To this hour I do not know whose measure it was. Some unknown impulse began it and all of us were obliged to follow. The general cry was, that now was the time to make a push for both Members, or for the future we must give up the chance of carrying even one. It was or seemed to be necessary not to damp the ardour of our friends. And thus we plunged in—and thus nine tenths of all the political measures of the world are undertaken and pursued—with ones eyes broad open to the imprudence of them.¹⁰

However lavish Lord John Townshend might have been with his personal fortune on this occasion,¹¹ neither he nor the close friends of Fox could have been expected to bear the entire expense of a contest which was really a party contest, and one in which the reputation of the party had been at stake. As early as September 1788 a subscription was inaugurated among the more affluent members of the party.¹² During its first year the subscription appears not to have been well organized, and it brought in nothing like the sum required. By the late summer of 1789 Townshend, Spencer, Sir Thomas Dundas, and one or two others who were closely associated with the conduct of the election undertook the formation of a committee that could manage the subscription on a more general and systematic basis. A list of names of those likely to contribute was drawn up and a circular letter composed. The letter stated the purpose of the subscription, and in a postscript was given a subtle hint as to the amount of contribution that was expected.

I take the liberty of acquainting you that the following Gentlemen have at the desire of several others of our common friends, form'd themselves into a Committee for the purpose of collecting subscriptions; in order to defray certain accumulated expences, which from a variety of concurrent circumstances, have unavoidably accrued: & which, after many heavy ones already paid, remain unliquidated. The Gentlemen who compose this Committee are

Ld. Fredk: Cavendish
Ld. Wm: Russel
Ld. Robt: Spencer
The Earl of Lauderdale

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

Ld. Clive
 Sir Ger: Vanneck
 M. A. Taylor Esqr [crossed out]
 T. W. Coke Esqr.
 Dudley North Esqr
 Cha: And: Pelham Esqr
 X Wm Adam Esqr [crossed out with "X" in front]

I am also requested to inform you that the debts to be discharged amount to no less a Sum than twelve thousand Pounds. In order to raise this Sum, we find ourselves under the necessity not only to recur to those upon whom former expences have already fallen very severely, but to extend our applications to a larger circle of our friends. Under these circumstances, where the honour of the party is so materially at stake, the Committee desire me to express their hope that they shall not too much trespass upon you by taking the liberty to solicit your assistance on the present occasion.

You will permit me to entreat as early an answer as you can conveniently favour me with.

I have the honour to be &c.

P:S:

The Committee have further desired me to inform you that upon the occasion of the last subscription (except in the instance of three or four individuals, who subscribed some thousands) the sums contributed by our friends in general varied from 100 to 300 £—

Townshend sent this circular letter to Adam enclosed in a note with the following comments:

I enclose you the letter which I submitted to the D. of Portland some days ago. I cannot help thinking that this plan, or something like it, is the only chance we have left. My chief doubt is with respect to the Postscript. I fear if it is so worded that most of our friends will subscribe only 100£. I think it would be the better way to specify the particular sums which certain persons have subscribed, & selecting these according to the person to whom you are applying. For instance a letter to Ld Cholmondeley might state that such & such persons have subscrib'd 500—a letter to Ld Powis or Ld Malmesbury that such & such had given 200—to Sir J. St. Aubyn or Sir H. Bridgeman that such & such subscribd 100. to the *last* class (for I hope we shall go no lower than fifties) that such & such have subscr'd. 50£.

However you will consider all this with the Duke & Ld Robert. Settle it as you like, but pray let *something* be settled. & when the form of the letter is agreed on (wh is the least material part) do pray take some steps for an immediate application to those whom we propose to be of the Comm^{ee}. & settle directly through whom the applications are to be made.

Ld Robt must urge Ld Fredk. Dudley North will write to Pelham & Sir Ger^d Vanneck. The Duke to Coke—Any of us can speak to Ld Wm Russel. Who shall ask Ld Clive & M. Angelo you must settle at Bulstrode—but pray let it be done. For if you miss this opport[unit]y of arranging the business at Bulstrode, we shall do nothing before winter.

Pray let me hear from you when you return. Believe me

Yrs Ever

Most sincerely &c

J. T.

I think Ld Robt shd certainly sign the letters, if you don't.¹³

It was decided that no specific amount would be stipulated as a goal, lest the subscription should be slowed thereby, and that those who had already subscribed would be sent letters without the postscript.¹⁴ Apparently this method enjoyed considerable success, for at the beginning of September in the following year Spencer wrote Adam that he saw a prospect of paying off the debts of the election.¹⁵ But the success was not without qualification, for by the following November Spencer saw that the debts could not in fact be paid off at that time.¹⁶ By September 1791, however, Fitzwilliam and Adam could refer to a surplus from the Westminster subscription that could be applied to other debts of the party.¹⁷

One difficulty impeding the payment of the Westminster debts after 1788 was that Adam and Portland began borrowing from the Westminster fund to pay obligations incurred outside Westminster in the general election of 1790. Shortly after the dissolution fright of March–April 1789¹⁸ Adam and Portland decided to initiate a separate subscription for a general election fund. At about that time Adam wrote to his relation, G. K. Elphinstone, the candidate for the Glasgow burghs:

I have conversed fully with the Duke of Portland & he desires me to communicate freely to you, in confidence, as follows.

If Parlt were to be dissolved immediately there would be no fund. But if it is put off there is a plan on foot likely to produce a very respectable One—If that plan

¹³ Townshend to Adam, with enclosure, n.d., Blair-Adam MSS.

¹⁴ Sylvester Douglas to Adam, July 31, Aug. 4, 15, 1789, Spencer to Adam, Aug. 30, Sept. 3, 1789, J. R. Cocker to Thomas Lowten, Nov. 14, 1791, *ibid.*

¹⁵ Spencer to Adam, Sept. 5, 1790, *ibid.*

¹⁶ Spencer to Adam, Nov. 18, 1790, *ibid.*; see Spencer to Adam, Oct. 4, 1790, *ibid.*, when he did "not quite despair yet of getting the debts paid, but the prospect is not so good as when I wrote to you last."

¹⁷ Fitzwilliam to Adam, Sept. 8, 1791, *ibid.*

¹⁸ Intensive preparations for a dissolution began almost as soon as the regency crisis developed, for it had become generally known in Whig circles, and was suspected outside them, that the regency government would probably consolidate its strength in the House by dissolving Parliament in the summer or autumn of 1789, or even sooner if the terms of the regency were not as the new ministry desired or if the House proved peculiarly intractable. With the recovery of the King in March the political world continued to be periodically convulsed with rumors of impending dissolution until that dissolution finally occurred on June 12, 1790. The rumor of March and early April 1789 was a peculiarly convincing one, for it was "owing partly to the Stir amongst the Ministerial Election agents, partly to information given by some of the inferior people employed in the offices, & partly to the Idea that Pitt has wished for some time past to secure a favourable Parliament for seven years more while his popularity lasts." (Elliot to Lady Elliot, Mar. 17, 1789, Minto MSS, National Library, Edinburgh.)

does take place (which tho' not a certainty yet is next to one) His Grace will certainly consider as highly proper to give such a sum as you mention.

There is I think (in spite of the reports) no chance of an immediate dissolution: & I really think there is so fair a prospect of the fund, that I would advise you, with the prospect you have of success, by no means to desist at the same time I do not wish to represent the fund as an absolute certainty, as I should perhaps in doing so be going beyond what the Duke of Portland would wish, as he never wishes to promise when he cannot positively ensure performance.¹⁹

Elphinstone was not the only opposition candidate who was given assurances of financial assistance from a general election fund during that period. Adam and Portland also decided to attempt to establish a permanent interest at Bath; in order to persuade a very reluctant Thomas Grenville to stand, they assured him that "neither expense nor disgrace" would be incurred thereby.²⁰ Similarly, Spencer seems to have been offered Evesham with a guarantee that his expenses would not exceed three thousand pounds.²¹

The general election fund did not thrive, however. In July 1790 Portland reported to Adam that the subscription was progressing very slowly. He declined assistance to John Halliday of Taunton in the event of a petition, and he advised Adam to select a candidate for Glasgow burghs who would be able and willing to pay his own expenses.²² Nevertheless by August 11 Portland felt certain that what had been raised would be sufficient to replace the deficiencies of the Westminster fund.²³ The accounts of Kent for the contest at Canterbury, where Lord Daer stood with the assistance of two agents of the party, Edward Kent and one of the George Reids, were later "settled" by Adam. In August 1791 Portland employed French Laurence as a confidential agent to convey bank bills to Daer in full payment of a promissory note outstanding from "the last general election."²⁴ As late as 1793 Adam informed Fitzwilliam that the party still owed Thomas Fitzherbert two hundred pounds as reimbursement for election expenses at Arundel.²⁵ In the event, this debt, like other party debts that could not be met out of the special subscription funds for the Westminster contest and the general election, was inherited by the original general fund raised by annual subscription.

The several ways in which party funds were expended during the general election of 1790 and the months following reveal a very advanced degree of

¹⁹ Adam to Elphinstone, draft, n.d. [Mar.-Apr. 1789?], Blair-Adam MSS.

²⁰ Portland to Adam, Oct. 13, 1789, *ibid.*

²¹ Portland to Adam, Nov. 17, 1789, Spencer to Adam, Nov. 23, 1789, *ibid.*

²² Portland to Adam, July 5, 1790, *ibid.*

²³ Portland to Adam, Aug. 11, 1790, *ibid.*

²⁴ Daer to Adam, Oct. 3, 1790, *ibid.*; Portland to Adam, Aug. 25, 30, 1791, Duke of Portland MSS, University of Nottingham.

²⁵ Portland to Adam, Dec. 22, 1789, Blair-Adam MSS; Adam to Fitzwilliam, Sept. 19, 1793, Milton MSS.

party organization. Of the greatest significance was the decision of Adam and Portland to contest seats that had not in the recent past returned a member in the Whig interest and to do so in part with the assistance of party funds and of agents sent out from London at the party's expense. It was normal in the eighteenth century for politicians to employ local attorneys to manage the details of their election, but in 1790 for the first time the opposition as a party sent agents from London into the country to assist in those constituencies where a heated contest seemed likely. The men sent were in some cases prominent London attorneys. Others were men of business, not members of Parliament, who made a profession of undertaking various employments for political parties. A few were under retainer as permanent agents of the Whig party.

These sophisticated activities of the party were for the most part confined to close constituencies in the west and south of England. In consequence of "intimations" received from Sir John Morshead, from Roger Wilbraham, and from other friends of the party with influence in Cornwall, Portland and Adam undertook inquiries about the state of Tregony in October 1789. By June 1790 they had decided to support Sir John Frederick and John Purling in a preliminary canvass. They had been approached by two local men of some standing who came to London offering their services as agents, but Portland and Adam preferred to send Charles Carpenter from London. Carpenter, a wealthy London attorney, was given a letter to Morshead introducing him as confidential agent of the party. It was understood that the contest, if carried through the polls, was likely to cost £7,000, that Frederick and Purling were to provide £3,250 each, and that the party was to bear the expense of the preliminary canvasses up to £500 and perhaps £600 if necessary. Carpenter was given complete and sole charge of the party funds, which were deposited in the banking house of Herries and Company. Ultimately the two canvasses conducted by Carpenter did not in his opinion justify taking the contest to the polls. He reported to Adam on June 19 that the second canvass had shown success to be almost impossible without immediately distributing at least £20 apiece to some 120 persons of inferior quality who comprised the larger portion of the electorate, and that this sum, when coupled with a long canvass, would make the total expense prohibitive.²⁶

At least eight agents in addition to Carpenter may be identified as having

²⁶ Something in excess of four hundred pounds seems to have been expended by Carpenter at Tregony. He was also employed to canvass Grampond on this occasion. (Portland to Adam, Oct. 19, 1789, June [?] 1790, Portland to Morshead, draft, June 11, 1790, Carpenter to Adam, June 15, 17, 19, 1790, William Richards to Adam, Sept. 1, 1790, Wilbraham to Adam, June 4, 10, 1790, Blair-Adam MSS.)

been employed by the party and sent out from London in the general election of 1790. These men were known and treated as representatives of the party and were authorized to negotiate, contract debts, and expend and receive funds on its behalf. In January 1789 Laurence Hill, who had earlier compiled for the party an electoral analysis of the Scottish counties, was distributing election funds for charitable purposes in the Glasgow burghs on behalf of Elphinstone, whose contest the party had undertaken in part to finance.²⁷ In 1790 Edward Kent, who had managed the accounts for Townshend's select committee during the Westminster election of 1788 and was frequently employed by the party in its connections with the press, was handling the accounts of Daer for his contest at Canterbury. Adam, as already noted, was himself engaged to "settle" these accounts at the end of the election, and in 1791 Portland seems to have reimbursed Daer for a portion of his expenses. Kent received one thousand pounds from Daer's friends during the election, none of which was he personally to expend at Canterbury, but he was allowed three hundred pounds to be spent in London and in transporting voters to and from Canterbury in carriages.²⁸ Either the elder or the younger George Reid expended at least two hundred pounds of Kent's funds at Canterbury. Reid was on this occasion recommended to Daer by Kent and to Adam by Richardson and Sheridan. Either this Reid or his relation had been previously engaged by the party in the Westminster election of 1788 and for a number of years had been employed in London by the party in its dealings with the press.²⁹

Men such as Carpenter or, at that period, Hill seem to have been employed for the particular occasion and to have been under no permanent retainer by the party. This was not the situation of Richardson, the clerk

²⁷ Hill to Elphinstone, Jan. 24, 1789, *ibid.* Hill is the compiler of the *View of the Political State of Scotland . . . in 1788*, ed. Sir Charles Elphinstone Adam (Edinburgh, 1887).

²⁸ Daer to Adam, Oct. 3, 1790, Charles Hyndes to Adam, with enclosure, Sept. 27, 1790, Blair-Adam MSS; Portland to Laurence, Aug. 25, 30, 1791, Portland MSS. Adam paid Kent two hundred pounds in 1793 "for services at various times he never havg recd any thing." (Adam to Fitzwilliam, Sept. 19, Oct. 31, 1793, Milton MSS.) The following undated [1790?] memorandum in the Blair-Adam MSS is endorsed by Adam "Kent's Acco^t":

Chaises, Boys, turnpikes and expences on the Road with the Writs to Dover & Sandwich	£ 15. 8.
Coach hire the preceeding day to Mr Adam & L ^d . Norths and several hours in the eve ^e with Mr Wright and Mr Walsh—	13.
	£ 16. 1.—
	16
left unpaid on the Dover Election bill—	£ 16.17

²⁹ Daer to Adam, Oct. 3, 1790, Richardson and Sheridan to Adam, June [?] 1790, Reid to Adam [June 30, 1790?], Cocker to Lowten, Nov. 14, 1791, *ibid.*; Almon to Portland, July 21, 1794, quoted in Aspinall, *Politics and the Press*, 272. There were a George Reid, Sr., and Jr.; unfortunately they were not always distinguished as such in correspondence.

Walsh, and perhaps Denis O'Brien. Richardson received an annuity of fifty pounds a quarter from the general fund of the party.³⁰ He was an active writer of political literature in the party's interest and in 1790 was employed as agent for Ralph Noel Milbanke in County Durham and for Sheridan in Stafford.³¹ O'Brien, if not in receipt of regular payments from party funds in this period, was a close associate of Fox and was employed by the party for various purposes with great regularity.³² He was the general manager of the Westminster election for both Townshend in 1788 and Fox in 1790, a job that he was still performing for the Foxites in the general election of 1802.³³

Walsh is in many ways a more interesting and significant figure within the party organization. He had been employed as a clerk in the office of the Secretary of State for colonies under the administration of Lord North, continuing in that position when Rockingham took office in 1782. When the third secretaryship was abolished, he apparently continued in government service as a clerk, for Adam found him employed writing letters for the coalition government in 1783. But when the coalition government fell, Walsh gave up his government position, apparently voluntarily, and continued to work for the coalition while in opposition. He was given an office in an upper floor of Carlton House, and his task was to write letters on behalf of the party requesting attendance in the House or at meetings whenever an occasion particularly demanded it. He continued to perform this and other tasks for the party until at least as late as 1793 and was given a quarterly remuneration by the party according to the extent of his services.³⁴ Nor were those services restricted to the writing of letters, as the following memorandums indicate:³⁵

³⁰ Adam to Fitzwilliam, July 4, 1793, Milton MSS.

³¹ E.g., Richardson to Samuel Parr, Jan. 30, Apr. 1, 1787, n.d., *The Works of Samuel Parr*, ed. John Johnstone (8 vols., London, 1828), VII, 320-22; Richardson to Adam, June [?] 1790, Blair-Adam MSS.

³² On O'Brien, see esp. British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 47566 [hereafter cited as BM, Add. MSS.] and the Blair-Adam MSS. O'Brien had apparently been given an annuity out of "the Little Fund" by the party while it was in office in 1782. (See memo of Feb. 9, 1831, BM, Add. MSS. 47591, fols. 62-63.) In the first decade of the nineteenth century the party undertook a subscription to relieve O'Brien of his debts, as they did for Richardson and a few other principal men of business.

³³ O'Brien was under the supervision of Adam, and Kent under O'Brien. (Hyndes to Adam, Sept. 27, 1790, Blair-Adam MSS; memo by O'Brien, BM, Add. MSS. 47566, fol. 67.)

³⁴ Adam to Fitzwilliam, Sept. 19, 1793, Milton MSS. According to Adam, Walsh's stipend to 1793 had amounted to "£100-£150—sometimes £200 a Year." (*Ibid.*) He had earlier described Walsh as currently at least having no other income. (Adam to Fitzwilliam, July 4, 1793, *ibid.*)

³⁵ Memos, one endorsed by Adam "Walsh's Bill," the text of both in same hand but unsigned, Blair-Adam MSS. In August 1790 Walsh spoke to Portland about "his charges" and presented a bill for £160 "which w[oul]d become due in a few days," and "that did not seem to be the whole of His demand." (Portland to Adam, Aug. 11, 1790, *ibid.*) Fitzwilliam to Adam, Sept. 8, 1791, *ibid.*: "I have no hesitation in saying that I shall think the annual subscription with great propriety applied to the payment of Walsh: there must be a regular establishment for

1790

Memorandum of Expences incurred on account of Parliamentary Business

	£	s	d
House of Commons	160.	-	-
Journeys, Expresses &c	138.	14.	
Incidents	12.	16.	
Old Account	39.	8.	

£350.18.

Receiv'd of Mr. Adam on Account 120. - -

£230.18.

1790. & 91.

Memorandum of Expences attendant on Parliamentary Business

	£	s	d
House of Lords & Commons	236.	-	-
Journeys & Expresses &c	94.	16.	
Incidents	26.	13.	
Old Account	100.	18.	

£458. 7.

184. -

£274. 7.

Rec'd of Mr. Adam £100.
D^o By my own Collection. 84

£184

Walsh seems to have been retained in London during the general election of 1790 in order to be at the disposal of Portland and Adam for odd tasks that might arise. In June 1790, for example, he was sent by Portland to John Coxe Hippisley's house to inquire about the writ for Suffolk. On another occasion he was met by another agent of the party on the road to Hastings. But he still seems to have been principally employed in his old task of writing letters for attendance on behalf of the leaders of the party.³⁶

The case of Walsh illustrates yet another important element in the centralization and coordination of the activities of the party both within and out of doors: the establishment during this period of party offices where men of business could meet and work and to which correspondence could be directed. It has already been noted that Walsh was given a room in Carlton House. Adam took an office in Burlington House, the London residence of Portland, during the early months of 1789. Some of his mail was again sent

summoning, & there cannot be a doubt, that the subscribers will universally approve of a part of the subscription being appropriated to that purpose."

³⁶ Portland to Adam, June [?] 1790, Charles Whiting to Adam, June [7?] 1790, *ibid*.

to that address during the general election in 1790. In any case mail directed to him in London would reach his chambers in Lincoln's Inn from where his clerk Horsfield could forward it when necessary. There is no clear evidence, however, that the expenses of either of these offices fell upon the general fund.

A more important innovation was the establishment of offices at Thomas Becket's, the bookseller and publisher in Pall Mall,³⁷ and the expense of these offices was clearly borne by the general fund. In 1785 or perhaps slightly earlier a number of the party's more talented men of business had formed the *Esto Perpetua* Club with a view to collaborating in the writing of opposition pamphlets and contributions to the press. To facilitate this enterprise they engaged apartments over Becket's shop in which they might meet and work over a glass of claret. According to Sheridan's biographer, it was this group meeting at Becket's that produced the famous *Rolliad* which appeared in 1785.³⁸ It is uncertain who paid the rental of these apartments during these earlier years, and it may be that they were not continuously maintained. But it is certain that they were engaged at the party's expense at least from the time of the Westminster by-election of 1788. When revising his accounts for that election, John Robert Cocker wrote to Thomas Lowten that Spencer had objected to payments made by Cocker "to Mr Reid Junr by desire of Mr Sheridan and charged to the Club at Becket's."³⁹ In August 1789 Becket himself wrote to Adam:

Hearing by Mr Richardson that you was gone to Bulstrode [Portland's country house] I take the liberty to trouble you with these few lines to beg of you most earnestly to Stand my friend with his Grace respecting my affair—there is near £240 due to me for the Apartments, Stationary [*sic*], News papers, &c &c. . . .⁴⁰

³⁷ In December 1792 Becket was advertised as "Bookseller to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales." (BM, Add. MSS. 16923, fol. 14.)

³⁸ Walter Sichel, *Sheridan* (2 vols., London, 1909), I, 454–55, II, 87–93. According to Sichel, the contributors to the *Rolliad*, and presumably members of the club, were Sheridan, Richard Fitzpatrick, Laurence, Richardson, John Courtenay, George Ellis, Townshend, Richard Tickell, Isaac Reid, and Henry Bate Dudley. Sichel had access to the Sheridan papers at Frampton Court; until these papers are examined, Sichel must be followed on the point of the *Rolliad* and the name of the club.

³⁹ Cocker to Lowten, Nov. 14, 1791, Blair-Adam MSS.

⁴⁰ Becket to Adam, Aug. 29, 1789, *ibid.* It is possible that the apartments were being used in 1793 when an obviously fabricated advertisement was placed in the *Morning Chronicle* (Apr. 11, 1793):

PLACE UNDER GOVERNMENT

A GENTLEMAN of education and genteel family is ready to advance Two or Three Thousand Pounds, or more, to any Gentleman who has interest to procure him a place of respectability, and an adequate income, in any of the Public Offices.—Letters to be addressed to A.B. at Mr. Beckett's, Bookseller, Pall Mall—No agent or broker will be attended to.

Several such advertisements appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* during late 1792 and early 1793, but not with Becket's as an address. But the apartments were given up, probably at the party's dissolution, or perhaps during the Foxite secession after 1797. Fox thought of getting "an estab-

In June 1791 Adam received a letter from a Samuel Massingham:⁴¹

Permitt me to inform you, that in obedience to your Commaind, I made out my Bill and presented it to Mr Reid the Monday after, I have waited on Mr Reid Several Times since, and Can gett no other answer, than that Mr. Reid have Been so Exceeding Busy, that he have Not had Time to over Look My Bill, I have Taken the Liberty to Send the Inclos'd Bill, for Fear the Bill from Mr Reid should Not Come to hand, that I might Not Miss the opportunity, though I Do Not wish to Receive one Shilling Till the Jentlemen are perfectly Satisfied that My Bill is found to be True and Just.

The following bill was enclosed:

Sam ^l . Massingham No 85 King street Golding sqr Late Messenger at Mr Becketts pell-Mell		£ S D
From Sunday 9th of Novem ^r . 1788 To the 22 of May 1791		
To one Hundred and thirty two Weeks attendance at 1:1:0 pr Week—		138 = 12 = 0
To Moneys Disburst at Different times at Mr Becketts—		36 = 1 = 2
	Sum Total	<u>£ 174 = 13 = 2</u>
December 21th 1788 Recd of Geog Reid Esqr Six Weeks pay—		£ 6 = 6 = 0
May 7th 1790 Recd By order W. Adam Esq of Sir Thos Dundass Bart:		£ 50 = 0 = 0
	Recd on the Above Act	<u>£ 56 = 6 = 0</u>
	Ballance Due on the Above Acct	<u>£ 118 = 7 = 2</u>

Throughout the 1780's and early 1790's a sizable proportion of the funds accumulated by the annual subscription went toward the dissemination of political propaganda with a view to enhancing the party's image, particularly as the time for the general election of 1790 drew near.⁴² During the regency crisis, too, the party undertook to circulate pamphlet literature throughout the country, largely at their own expense, in conjunction with an addressing and petitioning movement.⁴³ In the first instance the distribu-

lishment at Becket's again or something of the sort" shortly after 1803. (Fox to O'Bryen, n.d. [watermarked 1803], BM, Add. MSS. 47566, fol. 204.)

⁴¹ Massingham to Adam with enclosure, June 11, 1791, Blair-Adam MSS. In 1793 Adam included in the list of outstanding party obligations a debt of £88.2s.2d. due to Massingham as messenger at Becket's. (Adam to Fitzwilliam, Sept. 19, 1793, Milton MSS.)

⁴² See, e.g., Fox to Adam, Feb. 2, 1789, F. H. Mackenzie to Adam, Oct. 8, 15, 1788, William Robertson (the younger) to Adam, Feb. 24, 1785, Blair-Adam MSS.

⁴³ By December the party received word that the government was distributing pamphlets. John Jackson reported the distribution in Lichfield of "Opposition Politic's Exemplified" printed

tion of pamphlets was intended to counteract a similar attempt by Pitt to stimulate his own movement for addresses. By Christmas 1788 Elliot wrote to his wife that he, Burke, Laurence, and others were "all writing pamphlets & such papers for dispersing over the country to counteract the attempts of the other side to get addresses &c."⁴⁴ These pamphlets were in part distributed locally by friends and men of business who sent in requests for a certain number. Names were also sent in of men who might be willing to distribute in their neighborhoods.⁴⁵ But in addition there appears to have been a general plan for distribution that was suggested by Lord Porchester and administered by Adam.⁴⁶

In the early months of 1789 pamphlets were distributed by the party not only to counteract Pittite addresses but also to harangue the public on the issues arising out of the regency debates. Lord North wrote an urgent note to Adam on February 12:

Employ immediately some good Political Writer (if you have any) to State in a concise & forcible Manner to the Public the Nature & possible Consequences of the resumption Clause in the Regency Bill. . . . your Writer should set about his Work immediately while the Minds of Men are occupied by the Subject.⁴⁷

During the preparations for the general election of 1790 the party once more undertook the mass distribution of pamphlets. In December 1789 Samuel Heywood, a prominent leader of the dissenting movement for the repeal of the Test Act and a man with influential connections in the city, sent Adam a specimen of a pamphlet that he suggested circulating in the country. He wrote: "you have it in your power to carry it to any extent—only make the £20. into £100. & I will answer for it. Take the first Edition & you shall make *your own* additions to the second, & it shall be generally circulated."⁴⁸

The press, however, remained the chief organ for party propaganda, and

by Stockdale. (Jackson to Robert Ladbrooke, M.P. [in London], Dec. 25, 1788, *ibid.*) On the addressing and petitioning movement, see John W. Derry, *The Regency Crisis and the Whigs, 1788-9* (Cambridge, Eng., 1963), 127-32.

⁴⁴ Elliot to Lady Elliot, Dec. 23, 25, 1788, Minto MSS.

⁴⁵ George Rous suggested Thomas Hooper in Worcester. (Rous to Adam, Dec. 27, 1788, Blair-Adam MSS.)

⁴⁶ Adam to Fitzwilliam, July 26, Sept. 20, 1793, Milton MSS. Richard Tickell wrote to Parr, apparently during the regency crisis (*Works of Parr*, ed. Johnstone, VIII, 130): "There is a plan for a more extensive circulation than usual of pamphlets, and I am desired to request you will endeavour to obtain us some local information with this view. What we wish to have is, a list of the inns in Warwickshire where farmers resort to, and of such coffee-houses or hotels as are in your county. I hope you will easily find out some person who can give you this information, and specify the sign and name of the innkeeper."

⁴⁷ North to Adam, Feb. 12, 1789, Blair-Adam MSS. Apparently some "political writers" switched sides easily and perhaps wrote for both sides at once. (See, e.g., the case of Charles Stuart in Aspinall, *Politics and the Press*, 166, 187-88, 420-22, 446-48.)

⁴⁸ Heywood to Adam, Dec. 23, 1789, Blair-Adam MSS.

subsidy payments in its support probably constituted the principal expenditure from the general fund. Indeed the annual subscription seems originally to have been instituted specifically for the purpose of subsidizing newspapers. Sheridan, with his flare for publicity, acquired at the end of the American war the services of Richardson, who with the assistance of the party purchased control of the *English Chronicle*, of which he was then editor. Unfortunately Richardson's paper soon lost its circulation as a result of its change of politics.⁴⁹ Sheridan at that time also obtained the support of Almon's *General Advertiser*, Almon agreeing to print certain papers and letters for the sum of three hundred pounds per annum, but this paper also ceased publication in 1790 owing to a prosecution.⁵⁰ At the time of the regency crisis the party was able to entice the support of the *Morning Chronicle*,⁵¹ and Carlton House purchased the *Morning Post*.⁵² According to Arthur Aspinall, the party by late 1789 was generally supported by and was probably to some degree subsidizing the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Morning Post*, the *Morning Herald*, the *General Advertiser*, the *Gazetteer*, and the *Star*.⁵³ Preparations for the general election called forth an increased activity in the party press, and not only in London. The initial payments of eight hundred pounds for "the country newspapers" were on the authority of Portland borrowed by Adam from the Westminster fund during 1789 and 1790, with the explicit understanding that the amount would later be repaid from the slowly accumulating general election fund.⁵⁴

In purchasing the support of these papers the party was able to divert some amount of criticism from itself to the government and to keep its supporters sympathetically informed of events in London. But the aristocratic leaders of the party also found to their extreme irritation that they were unable to exercise any strict controls and were often embarrassed by the sentiments expressed in their own journals.⁵⁵

The principal difficulty during the early 1790's lay in the inclination of the editors to take a more radical line on constitutional and humanitarian reform than most of the leaders of the party would themselves allow. By

⁴⁹ Fitzwilliam to Adam, Aug. 2, 1793, quoted in Aspinall, *Politics and the Press*, 451-52.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 271-72; Almon to Portland, Feb. 21, 23, 1791, Almon to Adam, Mar. 7, 1791, Blair-Adam MSS.

⁵¹ Aspinall, *Politics and the Press*, 69, 396-97.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 72, 274-81.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 271, 447. It would seem that the party also subsidized writers for submitting articles and reviews to such periodicals as the *English Review*. (See Dr. William Thomson to Parr, Oct. 29, 1787, *Works of Parr*, ed. Johnstone, VII, 565-66; Thomson to Kinnoull, copy, July 1, 1792, and William Windham to Adam, July 25, 1792, Blair-Adam MSS.)

⁵⁴ Portland to Adam, Oct. 14, 19, 1789, Spencer to Adam, Sept. 5, Oct. 4, 1790, *ibid.* See James Murray of Broughton's plan for country newspapers, quoted in Aspinall, *Politics and the Press*, 445-46.

⁵⁵ For a general discussion using material of a later date, see *ibid.*, 294-98, 303-305.

1791 the *Morning Post* had become so extreme in its expressions that James Gray, the joint proprietor with James Perry of the *Morning Chronicle*, felt it advisable to write to Adam:

Some letters from Paris, most outrageously democratic have lately appeared in the *Morning Post*, and I find that some of our friends confound ours with that paper. If you should happen to meet with any of them under that mistake, do me the favour to put them right—⁵⁶

The *Morning Chronicle* itself was still cautious at the beginning of 1791 in expressing too freely its liberal sentiments. Perry, the editor, wrote to Adam on January 7:

Mr Heywood called on me to say that if the *Morning Chronicle* would occasionally admit temperate letters from the Dissenters, they would push the paper in every part of the Country.—I told him that temperate Letters I would chearfully admit, but nothing violent nor personal. Did I right?⁵⁷

But after the rift between Burke and Fox in May 1791 the *Morning Chronicle* came increasingly under the influence and undoubtedly to some extent the direction of those in the party who were just to the Left of Fox in political sentiment and who were later to comprise the leadership of the Friends of the People.⁵⁸ Even worse from the viewpoint of the Portland Whigs, who were the principal contributors to the general fund, the paper accepted advertisements and occasionally reported the proceedings of such radical organizations as the Revolution Society and the Society for Constitutional Information, and in January 1792 it claimed in its lead editorial that it enjoyed the “enviable distinction . . . of being the acknowledged organ of the Friends to Liberty.”⁵⁹

As early as April 1791 Fitzwilliam warned Adam that his annual contributions and those of his friends to the general fund would cease unless the editors of the papers agreed to pay a more systematic deference to the aristocratic sensibilities of the party.⁶⁰ Portland wrote to Adam on September 10 that he doubted Lord John Cavendish would continue his subscription. Cavendish was so “unsatisfied with the conduct of the News Writers” that he

⁵⁶ Gray to Adam, Sept. 22, 1791, Blair-Adam MSS.

⁵⁷ Perry to Adam, Jan. 7, 1791, *ibid.*

⁵⁸ Even the liberals could not have been entirely happy with the Whig press in late 1791; certainly Fox was not. Harriet Fawkener Bouverie wrote to Adam on November 11, in conveying a message from Fox concerning his moving the repeal of the Test Act: “I wish something could be done about our newspapers, they seem to try & outdo the Ministerial papers, in abuse of the Princes, the *Morning Chronicle* is grown a little better lately, but the others are intolerable, the *Gazeteer* particularly, Mr [Robert] Merry has got that I am told.” (Blair-Adam MSS.)

⁵⁹ *Morning Chronicle*, Jan. 2, 1792.

⁶⁰ Fitzwilliam to Adam, Apr. 20 [1791], quoted in Aspinall, *Politics and the Press*, 448. Portland concurred. (Portland to Fitzwilliam, Apr. 21, 1791, Wentworth Woodhouse MSS, Sheffield City Library.)

was determined not to "give his money to propagate opinions which are not only not consonant to those he professes but highly injurious to that Party of which He is a Member & very pernicious to the Community at large."⁶¹ In the autumn Adam was forced by Fitzwilliam and Portland to discontinue subsidies to papers from the party fund. On November 23 Fitzwilliam wrote to Adam: "I trust *our connection with Perry is declar'd off*: in truth, it would be a mockery to pretend to have any tie over him, who advertises himself in the french papers, as the protégé of the National Assembly, & I suppose really is in their pay."⁶² In October 1792 a man of business of moderate sentiments like Robert Adair could write to Adam that "certainly we have no party paper at present" and that the party should look to obtaining the services of a new one "as it is become absolutely necessary to curb the insolence of Perry."⁶³

Indeed quarrels with their press not only contributed to the growing split in the party, but were the immediate cause of the party leaders' decision in the spring of 1793 to discontinue the annual subscription as then constituted. During the summer and autumn of that year Adam went about the unpleasant business of attempting to clear the party of whatever indebtedness still remained unpaid from its activities of the last ten to twelve years. Most of that which remained seems to have dated from the period of the regency crisis, particularly from the distribution of pamphlets on the plan of Lord Porchester. The party still owed £250 to John Debrett the publisher, £50 to John Walker the bookseller, £50 to William Perryman the printer, £248.12s.0d. to Campbell of the Shakespeare Tavern, £26 to the proprietor of the Thatched House Tavern, £88.2s.2d. to Massingham for his services as a messenger at Becket's, and the £200 election debt due to Fitzherbert. All of these debts seem to have been paid.⁶⁴ But it is certain that some of the party's debts were, with whatever justice, disowned by the party leaders in later years, and were probably never paid.⁶⁵

The split in the Whig party and the consequent interruption of the regular means of financing organizational activities did not mean an end to the

⁶¹ Portland to Adam, Sept. 10, 1791, Blair-Adam MSS. Cavendish continued his subscription since contributions to newspapers ceased.

⁶² Fitzwilliam to Adam, Nov. 23, 1791, *ibid.*; Adam to Fitzwilliam, July 26, Oct. 3, 1793, Milton MSS.

⁶³ Adair to Adam, Oct. 12, 1792, quoted in Aspinall, *Politics and the Press*, 449-50. The Friends of the People would surely not have agreed.

⁶⁴ Adam to Fitzwilliam, Sept. 19, 20, 1793, Milton MSS. All of these debts were by that time to be paid from the general fund collected annually.

⁶⁵ E.g., Richard Troward to Lord Howick, Oct. 3, 1806, Grey MSS, Prior's Kitchen, University of Durham; and Portland to Adam, Dec. 20, 1790, Blair-Adam MSS, regarding Tierney's Colchester petition; Almon to Portland, July 21, 1794, quoted in Aspinall, *Politics and the Press*, 271-72, regarding 1785-1789 subsidies for Almon's *General Advertiser*.

employment and elaboration of organizational techniques among the opposition, however. Research has just begun for the period after the Whig split, but already it is possible to say that, while organizational activity was more sporadic and in some of its aspects its development was less intensive among the new Foxite opposition, nevertheless it did persist and continue to develop significantly. One of the most interesting periods of extraparliamentary development falls between 1792 and 1796. Toward the end of the century Foxite organizational activity became more sporadic; this may be partially attributable to the unpopularity of the Foxite program for reform during the Pittite repression and to the consequent Foxite sense of frustration culminating in their secession from Parliament. The development of party organization after the turn of the century seems to have been limited to some extent by the fragmentation of the parliamentary opposition (or more accurately of government) after the fall of Pitt in 1801 and by the consequent reversion to factional politics which had been more characteristic of British political life in the mid-eighteenth century. But it is already clear that by the second decade of the nineteenth century great strides were being made in the extraparliamentary organization of the Whig party.

It seems safe to conclude, then, that the most fundamental and significant developments toward the evolution of the modern political party in its organizational aspects were first substantially evolved among the Whig opposition of the 1780's. The later developments of the 1830's were not so significant in their originality as in their scale.

It may raise some eyebrows that so much significance is attributed here to the development of organization in an opposition group, for most of the techniques (though by no means all) employed by Adam and his friends had been developed to some degree much earlier by servants of the crown. But surely it is always easier and more natural, and proportionately less significant, when government bestirs itself and organizes. After all, government has the personal and financial resources with which to do so and feels the immediate and pressing responsibility for managing a program through the two houses of Parliament. The modern political party was not clearly part of the political atmosphere nor yet an integral part of the constitutional process of modern Britain until it had formed the basis of British political life in opposition as well as in office. Nor could "party" become a pervasive and consistently effective element of British political life until the means of exerting party influence and discipline had been developed and had been recognized by government and opposition as both essential and desirable. Both the development of organizational machinery by an opposition and their

clear recognition of its necessity and desirability may be traced to the years following the close of the American war. It may be possible to demonstrate that parliamentary opposition groups in earlier periods of English history developed along similar lines. But if it were found that they did, it would be difficult to point to them as active precedents looked to by later periods, for there is no trace of the continuity of their machinery and attitudes among opposition groups of the mid-eighteenth century. It is therefore to the Whig opposition of the 1784-1793 period that we must look for the organizational origins of the modern British political party system.

Booker T. Washington and the White Man's Burden

LOUIS R. HARLAN*

THOSE who have thought of Booker T. Washington as a provincial southern American Negro, intellectually as well as geographically isolated from the rest of the world, will be surprised to find that he was substantially involved in African affairs.¹ This involvement, however, did not require any fundamental readjustment of Washington's outlook. The Negroes' position in American society at the turn of the twentieth century was, after all, roughly analogous to that of Negroes in the African colonies. Both groups were politically disfranchised, socially subordinated, and economically exploited. Negro Americans were engaged largely in raw material production in the South, that "underdeveloped" part of the American land empire that closely resembled a colony. The Darwinist mode of social thought supported both European colonialism and proscriptive American racial practices. Washington's cooperation with white colonial authorities and promoters in Africa, likewise, was consistent with his public acceptance of most of the southern white racial practices and his partnership with American white elite groups of both North and South. He urged Negro peoples overseas as well as those in America to seek their individual and group interests within the existing political and racial order. Though Washington, abroad as at home, occasionally endorsed surreptitious attacks on the prevailing race system, his African experience illuminates his essential conservatism. He is seen, as in a tailor's mirror, from new angles but in the usual posture.

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¹ The Booker T. Washington Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, are an important neglected source on early American Negro contacts with Africa. George Shepperson, "Notes on Negro American Influences on the Emergence of African Nationalism," *Journal of African History*, I (No. 2, 1960), 310-11, recognizes Washington's significance, but his brief investigation of this huge collection missed most of the pertinent manuscripts there. Two other recent surveys of the same theme ignored the Washington Papers: Harold R. Isaacs, "The American Negro and Africa: Some Notes," *Phylon*, XX (Fall 1959), 223-24; Robert Collins and Peter Duignan, *Americans in Africa: A Preliminary Guide to American Missionary Archives and Library Manuscript Collections on Africa* (Stanford, Calif., 1963).

Though he occasionally associated with more militant Negroes at home and overseas, he so thoroughly subscribed to the "White Man's Burden" of leadership and authority that, in seeming forgetfulness that he was Negro, he actually took up the burden himself.

Early in his career as a Negro leader Washington even endorsed the white stereotype of the naked African savage, as a story he told on the lecture platform in 1897 illustrates. "A friend of mine," said Washington, "who went to Liberia to study conditions once came upon a negro shut up with-in a hovel reading Cicero's orations. That was all right. The negro has as much right to read Cicero's orations in Africa as a white man does in America. But the trouble with the colored man was that he had on no pants. I want a tailor shop first so that the negro can sit down and read Cicero's orations like a gentleman with his pants on."² A growing knowledge of African history and the new ideas of anthropology, sociology, and archaeology modified the image.³ "I am deeply interested in any discoveries that your expedition on the Upper Nile has brought to light," Washington wrote to James H. Breasted. "I have long wished to know something more about the early history of the dark people of Africa. During the past two or three years, I have been taking advantage of such leisures as I had to dig into the history of the African people."⁴ There is other evidence of this reading program, and by 1909 Washington was emphasizing the size of the continent and the multiplicity and variety of its peoples. "It is impossible," he said, "to tell the story of Africa in a few sentences."⁵ But Washington was a man of action, and what sophistication his conception of Africa acquired was largely through the role he played there. Washington and other Tuskegeans were actively involved in Togo, Sudan, South Africa, Congo Free State, and Liberia. These activities and his many contacts with African teachers, missionaries, and nationalist intellectuals shaped a view of Africa resembling that of the more enlightened European colonialists.

On the first day of the twentieth century Tuskegee's first venture into Africa began. A Hamburg freighter put ashore in the German colony of Togo three Tuskegee graduates and a faculty member, along with their teaching equipment—plows, wagons, a steam cotton gin, and a cotton press.

² Entry for Oct. 20, 1897, in *Indianapolis in the "Gay Nineties": High School Diaries of Claude G. Bowers*, ed. Holman Hamilton and Gayle Thornbrough (Indianapolis, 1964), 99.

³ Robert Ezra Park to Washington, June 2, 1908 (42), Franz Boas to Washington, Nov. 30, 1904 (550), James H. Breasted to Washington, Apr. 29, 1909 (387), Mar. 8, 1910 (903), Washington to Breasted, May 6, 1909 (387), Washington Papers [container number in parentheses].

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Washington to Mrs. C. Foremint Pober, Oct. 23, 1909 (397), Washington telegram to Brentano's booksellers, May 17, 1905 (298), Washington Papers.

Their dual task was to train Africans in cotton culture and to experiment with interbreeding of local and imported cotton to develop a hardy, commercially successful variety. This was one of many projects of the *Kolonial-Wirtschaftliches Komitee* (KWK), a private German organization anxious to accelerate the economic exploitation of the German colonies. While the *Komitee's* lobbyists sought to divert their government from absorption in *Weltpolitik* to more systematic administration of its present possessions, the *Komitee's* experts were busily focusing modern technology on the colonial opportunities. They sought Tuskegee advice on cotton growing not only in Togo but in Morocco and East Africa.⁶

Through the influence of the German ambassador and the American Secretary of Agriculture, a team of KWK experts visited Tuskegee to secure expert and practical cotton farmers. "Some members of the company have certain misgivings whether your negro-planters might find some difficulties in starting and developing their work in Togo," Baron Herman of the *Komitee* wrote to Washington, "in finding the necessary authority towards the native population and in having at the same time the necessary respect towards the German government official[s] who of course would try to help them as best they could in their work."⁷ What he was really asking, though Washington may not have understood this, was whether the Tuskegeans would accept the highly authoritarian German colonial administration. According to one authority the Germans in this period "treated the people as conquered subjects of the German empire who had few or no legal rights."⁸ Washington reassured the Baron: "I do not think in any case that there will be much if any difficulty in the men who go from here treating the German officials with proper respect. They are all kindly disposed, respectful gentlemen. I believe at the same time they will secure the respect and confidence of the natives."⁹ It was decided that James Nathan Calloway, a Fisk University graduate with knowledge of German who had managed one of the Tuskegee farms, should accompany the young Tuskegee graduates for the first year.

One can picture the first party of Tuskegeans standing on the shore of the Gulf of Guinea beside their pile of equipment, forty miles from their des-

⁶ Mary E. Townsend, *The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire* (New York, 1930), 256-59. On Tuskegee's assistance to the *Komitee* in Morocco and East Africa, see Washington to George Washington Carver, Sept. 11, 1910 (604), Dr. Mathiesen, KWK, to Washington, Feb. 20, 1912 (919), Washington Papers.

⁷ Baron Herman, Berlin, to Washington, Nov. [should be Sept.] 3, 1900 (177), *ibid.*

⁸ J. D. Fage, *An Introduction to the History of West Africa* (3d ed., Cambridge, Eng., 1962), 180.

⁹ Washington to Baron Herman, Sept. 20, 1900 (282a), Washington Papers.

tionation in the bush, without a beast of burden within a hundred miles. The Africans who met them refused to draw the wagons over the rough roads, but offered to bear the wagons on their heads. This proved impracticable, and the Americans loaded only the most important articles on the heads of a hundred bearers and made the four-day journey on foot. While the mechanic of the party built a grass-covered mud hut and made plans for housing the gin and cotton press, the two farmers attacked the twenty-foot tree trunks and the fifteen-foot elephant grass. Calloway meanwhile went off in search of draft animals and laborers. Wild cattle and horses were secured from the Sudan, but the tsetse killed them before they could be broken to yoke and harness. Clouds of locusts, armies of ants, the "bug-a-bug," and the jigger—presumably an Africa-sized chigger—plagued the Tuskegee pioneers. For lack of draft animals, they harnessed four Africans to each plow and thirty-six Africans to the sweeps that turned the ginning machinery. Despite obstacles and challenges, in the first year they grew, processed, and shipped to Germany a small cotton crop of twenty-five bales. The Missahöhe experiment station was successfully launched.¹⁰

Nine Tuskegeans worked for various periods in Togo between 1901 and 1909. Their many letters back to the school would make an interesting case study of early American Negro contact with Africa. They worked hard, with a single exception. Four of them died in Togo, and five others returned after a few years.¹¹ The weakest of the first party died of fever, and two members of the second party died in 1902 before they could get ashore in a small boat through the heavy surf. This incident inspired an alumnus to write "Tuskegee's First Martyrs," only part of which is quoted here:

So into life boats and canoes,
They climbed like Jonah of old;
But never would they have done it,
If their fortunes had been told.

Soon after they had left the ship,
An hour's time or shorter;
The boat was upset and they all
Were hurled into the water.

¹⁰ Unidentified Tuskegean in Togo to Washington, Jan. 13, 1901 (218), Calloway to Washington, Feb. 3, Apr. 13, 1901 (213), Shepherd L. Harris to Washington, May 15, 1901 (199), Nov. 3, 1901 (213), John W. Robinson to Washington, May 26, 1901 (215), speech of Robinson at Tuskegee twenty-fifth anniversary celebration, press release, Mar. 31, 1906 (571), *ibid.*; James N. Calloway, "Tuskegee Cotton-Planters in Africa," *Outlook*, LXX (Mar. 29, 1902), 772-76; interview of Calloway, Indianapolis *Freeman*, Mar. 15, 1902, clipping in American Colonization Society Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. For several references to this collection I am indebted to Edwin S. Redkey, Yale University.

¹¹ Reprint from *Tropenpflanzer*, official organ of the KWK, Berlin, sometime in 1910 (255), Washington Papers.

Way down beneath the briny waves,
Two martyrs Simpson and Drake;
Who gave up school and native land,
For their race and country's sake.

Their images no sculptor carved,
Nor biography detailed;
But in every Tuskegee heart,
Their monument stands unveiled.¹²

For almost a year after this disaster, Tuskegee students refused to take the places of the martyrs, despite vigorous recruitment by George Washington Carver and Emmett J. Scott of the Tuskegee faculty.¹³ Eventually only John W. Robinson, of the class of 1897, one of the original party, was left in Togo.

An exemplar of the Tuskegee virtues of industry and humility, Robinson was determined to "make good" in Africa. "I am doing nothing that most people would consider great or noble, or either very honorable—'Growing Cotton' because it is commonly thought that any fool with a mule could do that," he wrote home. "Yet it has become the main object of my life to do most successfully that so-called simple thing 'Grow Cotton.' . . . How well I am succeeding my work must tell, not my words." He carefully reported his achievements, however. In 1903 some 122 bales were sent to Germany, and Robinson made two hundred dollars that year as a 5 per cent commission on his share of the cotton produced. The *Komitee* increased his salary 25 per cent.¹⁴ After Robinson became the only Tuskegean left in Togo, he continued to seek advice from Carver, the school's distinguished agriculturist, on such matters as cross-pollination and insect pests. Marrying a Tuskegee graduate, Robinson took her to Africa for several years. "I feel that my future is sealed up in these cotton stalks," he wrote Carver, "then why should I run away from it?"¹⁵ In 1905 Robinson began a cotton school for African farmers, with one hundred pupils, increased the next year to two hundred.¹⁶ His school was enlarged eventually into a general agricultural school, and he was assigned to a new experiment station and cotton school farther inland in 1908. As Robinson's health began to break, he resolved to serve for only two more years. "The pioneering part seem[s] to fall always to me," he wrote wistfully.¹⁷ A few months later he was drowned while crossing a swift river

¹² In W. E. Dancer, *Treasured Thoughts: Tuskegee Days and Ways* (n.p., 1909).

¹³ Warren Logan to Washington, June 13, July 22, 1902 (233), Scott to Washington, June 24, 1902 (241), KWK to Washington, July 15, Oct. 21, 1902 (232), Scott to Carver, Jan. 13, 1903 (241), Washington to Alexander McKenzie, Apr. 25, 1903 (22), Washington Papers.

¹⁴ Robinson to Washington, Jan. 25, 1904 (294), *ibid.*

¹⁵ Robinson to Carver, July 2, 1904 (871), *ibid.*

¹⁶ Robinson to Robert C. Bedford, Sept. 12, 1906 (358), *ibid.*

¹⁷ Robinson to Washington, Oct. 21, 1908 (380), Robinson to Bedford, Jan. 24, 1909 (897), *ibid.*

in a canoe. "It is due to his important services . . . that the Togo cotton has attained the high reputation it has," wrote the KWK in reporting the death.¹⁸ Because Robinson's body was not recovered, the German officials would not issue the death certificate. His widow waited for years to collect his back pay and finally employed a Berlin lawyer to sue his insurance company.¹⁹

The KWK program is hard to assess with fragmentary evidence. It reported in 1908 that cotton production in the German colonies had risen from nothing to more than three thousand bales of marketable product, that from Togo excelling American "middling" grade. To gin the Togo cotton, ten power stations were set up in the colony, and German industrialists began the manufacture of gins and presses to supply the colonial market.²⁰ A historian of Togo reports, on the other hand, that the cotton experiments were less successful practically than technically. When the Togo cotton stations shipped five different varieties to Germany in 1904, all of them marketable but of different staple length, German importers caused an uproar. They demanded that the *Komitee* concentrate on a single variety.²¹ Evidently the cotton program prospered until the end of German control of Togo, however, for cotton production at seven Togo stations rose steadily from 129,797 kilograms in the cotton year 1904-1905 to 530,763 kilograms in 1910-1911.²² Washington, for his part, gave German colonial policy toward the African population a sweeping endorsement on the occasion of a visit to Berlin in 1910. "I have followed with great care the policies and the plans according to which the German officials have dealt with the natives of Africa," he said. "Their work succeeds by these means in a wholesome and constructive manner. They do not seek to repress the Africans, but rather to help them that they may be more useful to themselves and to the German people. Their manner of handling Negroes in Africa might be taken as a pattern for other nations."²³ In actual fact, German administration had been so arbitrary and disruptive of tribal organization and traditional ways that the Africans had refused to cooperate. The German parliament investigated and insisted on some reforms in 1907, but even after that the tenor of Togo

¹⁸ KWK to Washington, Sept. 14, 1909 (53), *ibid.*

¹⁹ Washington to KWK, Oct. 14, 1909, Sept. 26, 1910 (53), KWK to Washington, Dec. 2, 1909, Sept. 9, 1910 (53), Washington to Mrs. Danella F. Robinson, Oct. 27, 1910 (53), Apr. 6, 1912 (62), Mrs. Robinson to Washington, Sept. 27, 1910 (53), Oct. 16, 1911 (53), Mar. 25, 1912 (62), Washington to Karl Supf, Jan. 10, 1911 (440), *ibid.*

²⁰ KWK to Washington, Aug. 25, 1908, enclosing Karl Supf, "German Colonial Cotton (Reports of 1900-1908)" (375), *ibid.*

²¹ Robert Cornevin, *Histoire du Togo* (Paris, 1962), 186; O. F. Metzger, *Unsere Alte Kolonie Togo* (Neudamm, 1941), 241-53.

²² Cornevin, *Histoire du Togo*, 187.

²³ Reprint from *Tropenpflanzer*, sometime in 1910 (255), Washington Papers.

administration remained less than "wholesome and constructive."²⁴ As he frequently did in America, Washington construed white men's actions more favorably than they deserved.

Tuskegee graduates helped to introduce cotton culture also into other parts of Africa. Some of them were employed by British promoters in Nigeria and others apparently in the Belgian Congo.²⁵ More importantly, the man who opened up the fabulous cotton region of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan chose three Tuskegee Seniors to assist him in his pioneer experimental farming in that area. Leigh Hunt, an American capitalist, acquired with British associates a large tract at Zeidab on the banks of the Nile. He brought a Tuskegee carpenter, agriculturist, and blacksmith there to organize a plantation and prepare the way for a larger colony of American Negroes. Hunt told Washington that hardheaded business motives rather than philanthropy guided his actions, and there is every reason to believe him. "What race of men is best adapted to assist in this pioneer work,—to serve as model farmers, to train the natives and teach them how to make the best use of these lands?" Hunt asked. "I should like to try the American Negro as I believe him best fitted to work with advantage to himself and to the Sudanese."²⁶

Washington's parting advice to the young men bound for the Sudan was amusingly similar to what one would expect from a Victorian parent, a warning against "going native." After reminding the boys that they had the school's reputation in their keeping, he concluded: "One point I wish to impress upon you is this, a great many persons going to a warm climate, go to ruin from a moral standpoint. I hope you will keep this in mind and remember that if you yield to the temptation and lower yourselves in your moral character, you will do yourself, the school and the race the greatest injustice; but I feel sure you are going to stand up and be men."²⁷

The Tuskegeans took hold of their work in the Sudan with such a will that Hunt wrote enthusiastically to Washington: "To tell you the truth I am

²⁴ Fage, *History of West Africa*, 180; Harry R. Rudin, *Germans in the Cameroons 1884-1914: A Case Study in Modern Imperialism* (New Haven, Conn., 1938), 212-13.

²⁵ William E. Curtis, in Washington, D. C., *Evening Star*, Mar. 24, 1905, clipping (299), Henry F. Downing to Washington, Sept. 2, 1902 (225), J. Wessley Hoffman to Isaac Singer, Mar. 1, 1908 (381), Washington Papers.

²⁶ Hunt to George Roberts, Nov. 29, 1903 (871), Hunt to Washington, Dec. 6, 1903, Sept. 24, 1904 (29), *ibid.* Washington was introduced to Hunt by a mutual friend, James S. Clarkson, who had an intense personal interest in the experiment with Negro technicians in Africa. (See Clarkson to Hunt, June 19, Oct. 19, Nov. 28, 1903, Hunt to Clarkson, Oct. 7, 30, 1903, Hunt to Earl of Cromer, undated copy, James S. Clarkson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.)

²⁷ Washington to Cain Triplett, Poindexter Smith, and John P. Powell, Dec. 12, 1904 (294), Washington Papers.

delighted with these boys and therefore very hopeful that my experiment in blazing the way to this land of promise is going to prove beneficial to at least some of your race."²⁸ Hunt arranged for two other Tuskegee graduates to join the staff of the experimental plantation, but in about two years one of them died and the others returned home with "African fever."²⁹ Hunt soon withdrew from the syndicate, which went on to develop the Gezira irrigation and cotton-growing enterprise a few miles north of Zeidab. Tuskegeans apparently were not further involved.³⁰

Colonial officials in Southern Africa meanwhile sought Washington's advice on race policy. Lord Grey of the British South Africa Company, which controlled Rhodesia, suggested in a conversation with the editor William T. Stead that Washington might be employed to tour Rhodesia and report on the best methods "to raise, educate, and civilize the black man." Grey told Stead that his company would be willing to pay Washington's expenses for a period of six to nine months. After Stead enthusiastically relayed the offer through his American colleague Albert Shaw, Washington's consideration of it was given wide newspaper publicity. He consulted with President Roosevelt and other prominent Americans and finally declined on the ground that his primary responsibility was to his institution and the American Negro, but he agreed to reconsider at a future time.³¹

Washington was consulted also when "Milner's Kindergarten" was launching the new Union of South Africa. E. B. Sargant, appointed South African Commissioner of Education by Lord Milner, was instructed to devise a plan of education for the Orange Free State and Transvaal. His request for advice on the proper education for black Africans was forwarded to Washington by a mutual friend.³² Washington's answers to Sargant's questions are particularly revealing because of Washington's stated assumption that there was "no very great difference between the native problem there and the Negro problem in America." For blacks in South Africa he proposed the same accommodation, economic and cultural subordination, and

²⁸ Hunt to Washington, Feb. 3 [1905] (29), *ibid.*

²⁹ Washington to Clarkson, Apr. 9, 1905 (299), Washington to the five Tuskegeans at Zeidab, May 23, 1905 (308), July 28, 1906 (322), J. B. Twitty to Washington, Apr. 17, 1907, C. C. Finlator, report of death of Smith, Aug. 27, 1907 (340), Washington to Powell, Sept. 2, 1907 (357), *ibid.*

³⁰ Hunt's career in the Sudan is briefly traced in Arthur Gaitskell, *Gezira: A Story of Development in the Sudan* (London, 1959), 51-52, 75; J. S. R. Duncan, *The Sudan: A Record of Achievement* (London, 1952), 122-24.

³¹ Stead to Shaw, Feb. 11, 1903, Shaw to Washington, Mar. 7, 21, 1903, Stead to Washington, June 3, 1903 (277), Washington to the Reverend A. E. LeRoy of Natal, Apr. 29, 1908 (818), Washington Papers; see also Clarkson to Hunt, June 19, 1903, Clarkson Papers.

³² Mrs. Grace Lathrop Luling (Mrs. Theodore Luling) to Washington, Jan. 17, 1905, Sargant to Mrs. Luling, Nov. 30, 1904 (307), Washington Papers.

incentives to individual self-help that characterized his racial philosophy in the United States. "Since the blacks are to live under the English Government," Washington wrote, "they should be taught to love and revere that government better than any other institution. To teach them this, they should receive their education and training for citizenship from or through the government. It is not always true that the Missions teach respect for the rulers in power."³³ Washington thus supported those conservative South Africans who considered missionaries, particularly Negro American ones, as subversives.³⁴ Washington also urged that the Africans be taught English in order to give them a common language and to absorb them more fully into Western culture. All should receive industrial as well as common school training, he felt, so as to "fit them to go out into this rich country and be skilled laborers in agriculture, mining and the trades." He urged that the educated class of African men be accorded civil equality with Europeans, a position that was consistent with his support of educational qualifications for suffrage in the United States. "The tribal system of government should gradually be replaced by an allegiance directly to the government of the land," wrote Washington. His principal answer to the complex racial problems, however, was a Negro version of the nineteenth-century "Gospel of Wealth." "Experience shows," he said, "that the black, as other men, work better and more profitably when induced to this labor by reward and it is voluntarily performed. If proper inducements are offered these people they will labor more and more as their wants are increased by education." There is no evidence that Washington's recommendation of industrial education was seriously heeded by the South African government. Africans were rigidly excluded from skilled trades, and many white South Africans considered industrial education of the Africans a threat to the social order.

Washington became involved in a more congenial African role as defender of mistreated Negro people in King Leopold's Congo Free State. Early in the twentieth century a world-wide scandal began with the exposure of forced labor and police brutality in this supposedly model colony. Washington readily assented to the request of Thomas S. Barbour, American organizer of the Congo Reform Association, that he use his influence with

³³ Washington to Mrs. Luling, Jan. 23, 1905 (303), *ibid.*; see also Mrs. Luling to Washington, Feb. 12, 1909 (895), Sargent to Washington, June 12, 1909, Washington to Sargent, June 30, 1909 (398), *ibid.*

³⁴ See George Shepperson, "Ethiopianism and African Nationalism," *Phylon*, XIV (Winter 1953), 9-18, and "The Politics of African Church Separatist Movements in British Central Africa, 1892-1916," *Africa*, XXIV (Jan. 1954), 233-45; Thomas Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa* (New York, 1957), 93-114; Ambassador Whitelaw Reid to Earl of Selborne, High Commissioner for South Africa, introducing AME Bishop William B. Derrick, Oct. 30, 1907, Whitelaw Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

high American officials in behalf of Congo reform. He called personally on his friend President Roosevelt and on members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to urge American diplomatic pressure on the Belgian government and monarch.³⁵ Washington carried with him to the White House a protest committee of the National Baptist Convention, the largest of all Negro organizations, which he had helped to arouse to a state of concern.³⁶ He became a vice-president of the Congo Reform Association, persuaded influential white friends to take an interest,³⁷ and discussed the Congo scandal in his public lectures. In 1904 an article on "Cruelty in the Congo Country" appeared in the *Outlook* under Washington's name, but he sent the royalty check to Robert E. Park, the young, white secretary of the Congo Reform Association, who had written all or most of it.³⁸ Park thus began a career as his principal ghost writer that lasted until Washington's death. The article described in detail the nature of the European exploitation and urged "careful investigation and swift action" to end the abuses. Washington and Park warned that "The oppression of the colored race in one part of the world means, sooner or later, the oppression of the same race elsewhere."

Washington's success in bringing Negro pressure to bear on American policy makers is indicated by the reaction of his opponents. "Dr. Washington is no small enemy to overcome," Colonel Henry I. Kowalsky wrote to the King of the Belgians.³⁹ A New York lawyer, Kowalsky was the highest paid of Leopold's several American lobbyists. In letters and an interview with Washington, Kowalsky sought to dissuade the Negro leader from his course by convincing him that his sympathies were misplaced. Kowalsky assured Washington of his own lack of racial bias, flattered him, slandered the missionaries, and excused the cutting off of hands as merely "an old tribal custom." "I recall with great pleasure my visit with you the other evening," Kowalsky wrote in March 1905, "not because I did all the talking, but because I found you deeply impressed with the subject and your honest and manly attitude towards me." Kowalsky put in writing an offer of a free trip to the Congo. "You can select your own route," he wrote to Washing-

³⁵Barbour to Washington, May 17, 1904 (284), June 22, 1904 (2), July 1, 1904 (284), Washington to Barbour, July 11, 1904 (284), Robert E. Park to Washington, July 18, 1904 (30), July 23, 1904 (870), Washington to Park, July 19, 1904 (30), Washington Papers.

³⁶George E. Stevens to Washington, Nov. 14, 1905, Washington to Stevens, Nov. 18, 1905 (881), L. G. Jordan to Washington, Nov. 16, 1905, Washington to Jordan, Nov. 28, 1905 (877), *ibid.*

³⁷Washington to Barbour, undated (reply dated Oct. 26, 1904) (284), Robert C. Ogden to Washington, Nov. 10, 1904 (23), Washington to H. P. McCormick, Nov. 25, 1905 (878), *ibid.*

³⁸Booker T. Washington, "Cruelty in the Congo Country," *Outlook*, LXXVIII (Oct. 8, 1904), 375-77; Park to Washington, July 23, Sept. 10, 1904 (870), Washington to Park, Oct. 11, 1904 (293), Washington Papers.

³⁹Undated letter in New York *American*, Dec. 11, 1906.

ton, "in every way be your own master, free from suggestion or dictation,—the fullest and widest latitude of your own choice alone shall map your footsteps, and every dollar of expense I will place in the bank for you to defray your wants. All I want is 48 hours' notice of the fact that you will go."⁴⁰ Washington apparently did not seriously consider the offer, which is interesting chiefly for what it reveals of Leopold's lobby. Washington was more tempted, however, by an invitation to speak at a Congress on Economic Expansion in Belgium under the more respectable auspices of the Belgian ambassador to the United States and an American professor.⁴¹ Park urged him to go, and his reasoning indicates the sort of influence Park had on Washington's view of colonialism:

I say by all means "go." I believe it will give you an opportunity to say something, at once for your school and our own colonial system, more fundamental than has yet been uttered. The difference between our colonial system and others consists in the fact that we are preparing the peoples we govern for citizenship, either in the United States or as independent states; other countries are interested only in the *economic development* (a vague term, which may be interpreted in many ways) of their possessions. . . .

Park warned Washington, however, that "the King of Belgium hopes to win you over to his theory of dealing with the Blackman. It is part of his cynical view of things in general that everyone can be purchased with money or flattery."⁴² Possibly for this reason, Washington found an excuse not to go.⁴³

Washington continued to lecture on Congo reform and spoke with Mark Twain at a series of meetings in major American cities. When Park wrote Washington in mid-1906 that "there seems to be a feeling here that you have not as much interest in the work of the association as [you] formerly did," Washington agreed to sign another article written by Park.⁴⁴ Then in December 1906 Hearst's *New York American*, at the height of its sensational crusade for Congo reform, published the purloined letters of Kowalsky to King Leopold, one of which stated that "I then reached out and got to Dr. Booker T. Washington. . . ."⁴⁵ Kowalsky did not explain what "getting to"

⁴⁰ Kowalsky to Washington, Mar. 1, 1905 (303), Washington Papers.

⁴¹ Louis Frank, Brussels, to Washington, Mar. 8, 1905, Washington to Frank, Mar. 8 [*sic*], 1905 (301), Professor James H. Gore to Washington, May 1, 1905, Robert H. Terrell to Washington, May 17, 1905 (308), Baron L. Moncheur, Belgian ambassador to the US, to Washington, May 23, 1905 (804), *ibid.* Gore apparently was one of Leopold's lobbyists. (*New York American*, Dec. 12, 1906.)

⁴² Park to Washington, undated, about May 1905 (30), Washington Papers.

⁴³ Washington to Baron Moncheur, May 30, 1905 (804), *ibid.*

⁴⁴ Park to Washington, June 29, 1906, Washington to Park, July 5, 1906 (33), *ibid.*

⁴⁵ Kowalsky to King Leopold, undated, in *New York American*, Dec. 11, 1906. On activities of Kowalsky and other lobbyists, see Paul McStallworth, "The United States and the Congo Question, 1884-1914," doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1954, 255, 276-86;

meant, but there is no other known evidence to support a view that Washington aided Kowalsky or faltered in his support of Congo reform. It is uncertain how much Washington or American opinion influenced the moderate reform in the Congo after the King surrendered his colony to the Belgian government.

It was in Liberia that Washington played his greatest African role. While his actions in this case were immediately useful, they served to support a semicolonial relationship of Liberia to the United States. During the final months of the Roosevelt administration and early in the Taft administration, when the little black republic seemed on the verge of both internal collapse and absorption by its European colonial neighbors, it was Washington who rang the fire bell, and kept ringing it. He used the leverage of the American Negro vote to engage in international as well as interracial diplomacy. This resulted in America's first serious commitment in Africa, an area far from the range of America's national interests. Washington's unofficial diplomacy in this crisis of Negro self-government illustrates the strong points of his personal style. He showed patience and mastery of detail in the untying of Gordian knots, diplomatic skill and agility developed in a lifetime of interracial negotiation, and ability to play several roles simultaneously in dealing with various groups. On the other hand, the weaknesses of Washington's approach and outlook are suggested by the nature of the American commitment in Liberia that emerged from his negotiations. Liberia became an American protectorate similar to that which had recently been imposed on the Dominican Republic. It involved an international bankers' loan and the control of customs and border police by American officials.

Liberia's plight was indeed serious, intricate, and seemingly endless. Established early in the nineteenth century by the efforts of white Americans who hoped to return manumitted slaves to the Dark Continent, Liberia at the turn of the twentieth century was still only an Americo-Liberian coastal fringe with an undeveloped and rebellious tribal hinterland. Liberia had never received enough immigration or capital to become an outpost of Western civilization, but it lacked the cohesion or isolation requisite to a hermit kingdom. And so it limped downhill, saved from absorption by powerful

Ruth M. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions in the Congo Independent State, 1878-1908* (Brussels, 1959), 305-15; Joseph O. Baylen, "Senator John Tyler Morgan, E. D. Morel, and the Congo Reform Association," *Alabama Review*, XV (Apr. 1962), 130-31. The name Congo Reform Association is used throughout this essay to avoid confusion, though it went by other titles at first.

neighbors less through its own efforts than through the unstable European power equilibrium on the eve of the First World War.

When the able West Indian Arthur S. Barclay became President of Liberia, his efforts at reform only made bad matters worse. He brought in as adviser Sir Harry H. Johnston, the famous explorer, intellectual, and colonial administrator. Johnston promptly negotiated the £100,000 loan of 1907 with Emile Erlanger and Company of London to help the nation pay its creditors. In return, Johnston's Liberian Development Company was granted a sweeping concession to exploit Liberian rubber and other resources, and the British Colonial Office was given control over the Liberian Frontier Force. These changes precipitated a Liberian political crisis. The Erlanger loan proved inadequate to pay off all the creditors; it was also such a burden on the customs revenues, which were administered by a British official, that the Liberian government could not pay its employees and had to procure government supplies and services on credit at ruinous rates. Moreover, the French government, alarmed by Barclay's pro-British policies, occupied a section of the Liberian hinterland precipitately and then reached out for more. A factor adding to the confusion was a divergence of policies among the British officials. While the British Foreign Office supported Liberian independence and integrity, the Colonial Office, as in the case of South Africa before the Boer War, pursued an imperialistic policy. The British consul at Monrovia took advice from the governor of Sierra Leone, for whom he had formerly worked under the Colonial Office. The head of the Liberian Frontier Force was a former British colonial administrator who employed many Sierra Leone troops, clothed them in British uniforms with OHMS on their caps. At a strategic moment in Liberia's internal crisis he led a mutiny of his unpaid frontier troops that threatened the capital. Possibly he acted on orders from the British consul, and a British ship aptly named the *Mutiny* arrived offshore with a company of British troops from Sierra Leone. President Barclay managed to put down the mutiny by winning over most of the Liberian troops and deposed its commander, but Liberia's weakness was manifest.⁴⁶

At the request of several Liberians and American Negroes resident there, Washington meanwhile had told President Roosevelt in the name of Negro

⁴⁶ The preceding three paragraphs are based on many manuscript items in the Washington Papers and in the National Archives. The most useful secondary accounts of the topic are Raymond W. Bixler, *The Foreign Policy of the United States in Liberia* (New York, 1957), which is based on archival sources, but fails to note Washington's influence; Raymond L. Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa* (2 vols., New York, 1928), esp. II, 786-802; Léonce A. N. H. Jore, *La République de Libéria* (Paris, 1911), 110-14; Nnamdi Azikiwe, *Liberia in World Politics* (London, 1934), 111-19; Sir Harry H. Johnston, *Liberia* (New York, 1906).

voters that Liberia needed substantial American assistance.⁴⁷ When three Liberian commissioners arrived in the summer of 1908 to appeal formally to the United States government, Washington served as their host. He arranged for their accommodation at white hotels, special consideration aboard trains, and treatment by government officials with "just as much courtesy as the customs of the United States will allow." He accompanied the commissioners to meetings at the State Department, with President Roosevelt and presidential nominee Taft, and later took them to Tuskegee for a three-day conference.⁴⁸ Meanwhile, Second Assistant Secretary of State Alvey A. Adee was "grubbing among papers inch deep in dust" to find the record of Liberian-American relations. Though he himself favored "some form of quasi-protectorate," Adee failed to find precedent or treaty sanction for this and concluded that Great Britain claimed "as much right to feel interested in the welfare of Liberia as the United States does."⁴⁹ Secretary of State Elihu Root, therefore, listened in a fatherly way to the Liberians, but did not commit himself until an American commission should be sent to Liberia.⁵⁰ Roosevelt expressed to Emmett Scott his desire to settle the Liberian question "on the broad ground of the square deal to the Liberian Republic." Two days after the Liberians had visited him, however, Roosevelt said in reference to Haiti's and Liberia's predicament: "It is a question of race."⁵¹ It is evident that a somewhat ludicrous racialism also governed the thinking of Adee in the State Department. "It must always be borne in mind that the climate of Liberia is against any effective Americanisation," he wrote in a

⁴⁷ Ernest Lyon, US minister to Liberia, to Washington, July 15, 1907, Washington to Roosevelt, Sept. 19, 1907, Washington to Lyon, Sept. 28, 1907 (7), Emmett J. Scott, telegram, to Washington, Sept. 27, 1907 (133), Washington Papers; State Department cable to Reid, US ambassador to Great Britain, Sept. 12, 1907, Reid Papers.

⁴⁸ Washington to Roosevelt, Mar. 21, 1908 (7), Washington to Lyon, Apr. 8, May 12, 23, 25, 26, June 3, 15, 1908, C. R. Branch to Washington, Apr. 27, 1908 (368), Washington to P. O. Gray, the Reverend S. G. Ferguson, Jr., and editor of the *African League* [J. H. Green], June 15, 1908 (371), Washington Papers. The commissioners were so grateful for Washington's aid that both he and his secretary, Scott, were awarded knighthood in the Order of African Redemption. Washington was also offered the post of Liberian chargé d'affaires in the United States, which he declined. (Washington to Secretary Elihu Root, June 15, 1908, Root to Washington, June 19, 1908, State Department 12083/30, National Archives [hereafter cited as NA]; Lyon to Washington, June 23, 1908 [375], Washington Papers.)

⁴⁹ Adee, memo to Secretary of State, Mar. 24, 1908, State Department 12083/71, NA.

⁵⁰ Root, memo of interview with the Liberian commissioners, June 1, 1908, State Department 12083/14, *ibid.*; G. W. Gibson, James J. Dossen, and Charles B. Dunbar to the Secretary of State, June 11, 1908, in *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1910* [hereafter cited as *FR*] (Washington, D. C., 1915), 696; Washington to Roosevelt (sent on to Root), June 16, 1908, Elihu Root Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

⁵¹ Scott to Washington, undated [late Sept. 1908] (1), Washington Papers; Roosevelt to Ray Stannard Baker, June 3, 1908, and to Johnston, July 11, 1908, in *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, ed. Elting E. Morison *et al.* (8 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1951-54), VI, 1048, 1125-26. Gentler public attitudes of both Roosevelt and Root are indicated in Roosevelt's message to Congress (Jan. 19, 1909), quoting extensively from a report from Root, reprinted in *FR, 1910*, 699-701. See also Philip C. Jessup, *Elihu Root* (2 vols., New York, 1938), II, 61.

memorandum. "Only full-blood Africans seem to stand it. The half-bloods have to go through two or three attacks of the fever before they can be acclimated." He continued:

I think, with the experience we have gained in the Philippines, we could administer and self-develop Liberia in practical ways, with the aid of trained African mestizos from Puerto Rico and perhaps some Philipinos, and sending some full-blooded southern Africans. . . . To do that, however, we would have to assume an administrative protectorate, in short a colonial control in all but the name. The practical administration might be under the Secretary of Agriculture.⁵²

Washington was regarded by Secretary Root as an indispensable member of the Liberian commission because the Liberians "would listen to him when perhaps they would not to any one else, for a large part of the problem to be worked out is with these people themselves."⁵³ Root thought Liberian problems should be solved primarily through self-help, with a minimum of technical assistance from such Americans as Washington. When William Howard Taft became President, however, he insisted on Washington's presence in the United States during the early months of his term as his adviser on Negro and southern affairs.⁵⁴ Washington therefore made arrangements for Scott, his private secretary, to be a commissioner in his place. Washington also submitted to the State Department the list of white men experienced in colonial administration and development from which the other two commissioners were selected.⁵⁵ After much negotiation and the resignation of several more experienced men, Roland P. Falkner, chairman, formerly superintendent of education in Puerto Rico, and George Sale, superintendent of Baptist mission schools in Puerto Rico and Cuba, were appointed.⁵⁶

⁵² Adeë, memo, to Assistant Secretary Robert Bacon, Nov. 10, 1908, State Department 12083/50, NA.

⁵³ Root to Seth Low, Jan. 19, 1909, State Department 12083/60, *ibid.*; Washington to Low, Feb. 16, 1909 (45), Washington Papers.

⁵⁴ Washington to Robert C. Ogden, Mar. 4, 1909 (895), *ibid.*; Adeë to Assistant Secretary Huntington Wilson, Mar. 11, 1909, Fred W. Carpenter, secretary of President Taft, to Secretary Philander C. Knox, Mar. 6, 1909, State Department 12083/110-11, NA.

⁵⁵ Of the voluminous correspondence on this topic in the Washington Papers, see particularly Washington to Root, Dec. 14, 1908, Root to Washington, Dec. 16, 1908 (895), Washington to Ralph W. Tyler, Dec. 23, 1908, Tyler to Washington, Dec. 25, 1908 (8), Washington to Root, Dec. 28, 1908 (6), Washington to General Leonard Wood, Dec. 29, 1908 (385), Wood to Washington, Jan. 2, 15, 1909 (895), undated lists of suggested names for commissioners (895).

⁵⁶ When the State Department prematurely announced appointment of Washington and two others without their consent, all of them declined. (Washington to Robert C. Ogden, Mar. 4, 1909 [895], *ibid.*; New York *Evening Post*, Mar. 2, 1909, clipping [1052], *ibid.*) Washington blocked efforts of his Negro opponents to put J. Douglas Wetmore on the commission. (See letters between Washington and Charles W. Anderson in Apr. 1909 [43], *ibid.*; Taft to William Loeb, Apr. 7, 1909, Letterbook Ser. 8 [Presidential], II, 320, William Howard Taft Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.)

"LIBERIANS INSULTED BY U. S. SENDING COLORED CLERK AND UNKNOWN WHITES" was the headline of the Boston *Guardian*. This organ of Washington's Negro opponents charged inaccurately that it was on Washington's advice that the commission had a white majority.⁵⁷ On the other hand, New York *Times* reporters tried to stir up a race issue in the selection of Scott. Finding that Scott was to travel on the cruiser *Birmingham*, whose officers were preponderantly southern, the reporters interviewed officers who said that they would ask for a transfer and eat below rather than sit at table with a Negro.⁵⁸ The commissioners were moved to another cruiser, the *Chester*, whose captain Scott found to be kind and considerate. "The officers *in the main* have also been agreeable," Scott later reported. "We have had our meals in the Cabin Mess the Captain's sumptuous quarters & he alone has been a fellow diner."⁵⁹ During part of the time in Liberian waters Scott also traveled on the *Birmingham* without racial incident.⁶⁰

The commissioners returned from Liberia suspicious of the designs of the British, French, and Germans. Their report recommended an all-American bankers' loan to refund the entire debt of Liberia and free it of dependence upon any colonial power. It also urged that the United States arrange for a firm delimitation of the Liberian boundary, take over the Liberian customs service, and furnish United States Army officers to lead and retrain the Liberian Frontier Force.⁶¹ Washington and Scott threw the weight of the so-called Tuskegee "Machine" behind these recommendations, for they believed that "subterranean forces are at work to prevent anything being done for Liberia." They influenced both the Negro and white press against southern and isolationist opposition to a Liberian protectorate.⁶² Washington persuaded the Secretary of the Navy to dispatch a warship to

⁵⁷ June 19, 1909, clipping (1090), Washington Papers.

⁵⁸ New York *Times*, Apr. 17, 23, 1909, New York *Tribune*, Apr. 18, 1909, clippings (1089), Boston *Guardian*, May 1, 1909, clipping (1092), Scott to Washington, Apr. 17, May 3, 1909 (587), Leander T. Chamberlain to Washington, Apr. 18, 1909 (389), Fred R. Moore to editor of New York *Times*, Apr. 19, 1909, copy (396), *ibid.*; memo for Assistant Secretary Wilson, Apr. 21, 1909, Frank Abial Flower to Wilson, Apr. 18, 1909, State Department 12083/188 and 193, NA.

⁵⁹ Scott to Washington, May 3, 1909 (587), Washington Papers.

⁶⁰ Interview of Scott in New York *Age*, July 8, 1909, clipping (1089), *ibid.*

⁶¹ Suggestions submitted to the American commission by the government of Liberia, 1909 (394), *ibid.*; another copy of same in State Department 12083/290, NA; Report of the Commission of the United States of America to the Republic of Liberia (typescript), State Department 12083/288-89, *ibid.*; Emmett J. Scott, "The American Commissioners in Liberia," typescript (394), Washington Papers.

⁶² Washington statement sent to Associated Press, Feb. 14, 1909 (896), copy of newspaper interview of Washington, undated, about Nov. 1909, Scott to Carpenter, Feb. 8, 1910, Washington to Carpenter, Mar. 28, 1910 (50), Scott to George A. Finch, Apr. 14, 1910 (905), Scott to Hamilton Holt, Apr. 18, 1910 (907), Scott to Washington, Apr. 21, 1910 (596), Scott to Ernest Lyon, Apr. 21, 1910 (908), Scott to Bishop Isaiah B. Scott, Sept. 26, 1910 (408), Scott to Burrelle's Clipping Bureau, Feb. 3, 1911 (418), *ibid.*

aid the Americo-Liberians in suppressing a tribal revolt and to send at least one warship a year thereafter. He warned President Daniel Howard of Liberia, however, that "the whole future of Liberia hinges upon its ability to get hold of the native population," that a redress of the very real grievances of tribal Liberians was a prerequisite to both civil concord and settlement of chronic border disturbances.⁶³

Through Henry Cabot Lodge and Elihu Root of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington influenced the Senate's approval of the Liberian convention.⁶⁴ The administration was forced to compromise, however, in order to overcome Senate reluctance to involve the nation in a bilateral commitment in Liberia and to satisfy the colonial powers' continued interest in the Negro republic. By the arrangement that the Senate finally approved, four American banking firms shared the American part of a \$1,500,000 international loan in 1912 in which British, French, and German banks were also equally involved. To secure the loan, the United States appointed the general receiver of customs, while the three assistant receivers were appointed by the other powers whose bankers were parties to the loan.⁶⁵ American Negro army officers took over direction of the Liberian Frontier Force.⁶⁶

Washington continued to influence Liberian finance, economic development, and education. While the State Department was negotiating the political settlement, Washington wrote to the banker-philanthropist Isaac N. Seligman. He asked him to "find parties in New York who would like to take up the Liberian debt, something in the way that was done in the case of San Domingo."⁶⁷ Seligman showed interest, but it was Paul M. Warburg, a

⁶³ Washington to James J. Dossan, Mar. 19, 1910 (905), Washington to Howard, Feb. 6, 1912 (918), *ibid.*

⁶⁴ Washington wrote to Scott, April 10, 1910 ([596], *ibid.*), after an interview with Secretary Knox and President Taft: "Both are deeply interested and mean to stand by Liberia as far as they can, but of course their hands are tied by the Senate committee." Scott replied on April 13, 1910 ([596], *ibid.*), expressing gratification but adding: "From what I have seen in the newspapers, however, I am not very optimistic as to the outcome. Of course as you clearly appreciate, Liberia's plight is likely to be worse now than before, for the reason that the United States has pretended an interest which it may not prove." For evidence of their redoubled efforts with the Senate, see Washington to Dossan, Mar. 16, 17, 1910 (905), Scott to Lyon, Apr. 9, 1910 (908), Washington to Lodge, Apr. 10, 1910, Lodge to Washington, Apr. 12, 1910 (411), Washington to Dossan, Apr. 10, 19, 1910 (404), Washington to Lyon, Apr. 21, 1910 (411), *ibid.*; George A. Finch, "The Liberian Program and the Senate," memo filed Apr. 17, 1913, State Department 882.51/200, NA.

⁶⁵ Roland P. Falkner to Secretary of State, Mar. 8, 1912, enclosing signed agreement between the Liberian government and banking firms of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany, State Department 882.51/306, *ibid.*

⁶⁶ Washington to Charles D. Hilles, secretary of President Taft, July 29, 1911, Hilles to Secretary Knox, July 31, 1911, Knox to Reed Paige Clark, Aug. 9, 1911, State Department 882.51/242 and 245, *ibid.*; Clark to Washington, Nov. 10, 1911 (441), Charles D. Young to Washington, Nov. 24, 1911 (446), Feb. 5, 1912 (922), Clark to Washington, Dec. 4, 1911 (419), Mar. 8, 1912 (916), Washington to Clark, Feb. 28, 1912 (916), Washington Papers.

⁶⁷ Washington to Seligman, Sept. 5, 1909 (394), Oct. 21, 1909 (898), Seligman to Washington, Sept. 10, 1909 (393), Sept. 20, 1909 (898), *ibid.*

Tuskegee trustee and partner of Kuhn, Loeb and Company, who led the American banking consortium involved in the Liberian loan. Though Warburg's family firm in Germany was already interested in the loan, there is evidence that Washington also influenced his decision.⁶⁸ In a letter to Secretary Philander C. Knox, Warburg took a philanthropic view of the loan, saying that "our associates and we hardly look upon this small transaction as a matter of business, but we rather consider it from the point of view, of attempting to assist that Republic in its struggle to free itself from the oppressive influences, which are well known to you."⁶⁹

Washington realized that American fiscal aid was only a rescue measure for Liberia; it would do little good if economic conditions continued as before. He sought, therefore, to encourage American capital investment in Liberia. The most notable of such schemes was that of John Stevens Durham, a Philadelphia Negro, to plant sugar in Liberia on a large scale. Warburg's refusal to supply the capital brought the plan to an end.⁷⁰ Washington also urged Liberians to accumulate their own capital by heroic measures of self-denial and enterprise. There were many things that Washington, with an outlook forged in the mid-nineteenth century, did not understand. His lifetime in the colonial economy of the American South, however, gave him a ready understanding of many of the problems of an undeveloped country such as Liberia. He may also have sensed that Liberia's experience was a harbinger of the hopes and trials of independent Africa. He advised a Liberian editor:

A nation must export more than it imports or financial disaster follows. This means but one thing, that the Liberian people should try to get their living out of the natural resources of their country instead of depending to any extent upon the resources of foreign countries. Every time a Liberian eats a tin of canned goods imported from any other country, it means poverty for the Liberians; it means that the Liberians are paying somebody else to manufacture the tin cans, and paying the freight upon the cans, and all this of course means money taken out of Liberia. . . . All this means another thing, and that is, that a large proportion of the brightest men and women should receive scientific, technical and industrial education in order to enable them to understand and master these natural resources.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Washington to Scott, Sept. 23, 1909 (587), Scott to Warburg, Sept. 25, 1909 (898), *ibid.*

⁶⁹ Warburg to Knox, Nov. 17, 24, 1909, State Department 18222/16-17, NA.

⁷⁰ Durham had been US minister to Haiti and Santo Domingo and manager of an American sugar plantation in Cuba. (See scores of letters on the Liberian sugar planting project between these men and also with Roland P. Falkner, Hollis B. Frissell, and R. Mackay Mackay [alias R. Mackay Cadell] [5, 44, 58, 63, 65, 404, 405, 408, 411, 421, 441, 450, 453, 891, 908], Washington Papers.) Though Washington encouraged this and several other American Negro enterprises elsewhere in Africa, he avoided any capital investment there and emphatically refused the use of his name by promoters of the Liberian-American Produce Company. (See particularly Washington to D. E. Howard, Secretary of the Treasury of Liberia, May 9, 1910 [905], *ibid.*)

⁷¹ Washington to J. L. Morris, editor of *Monrovia Liberian Register*, Jan. 6, 1911 (428), *ibid.*

The First World War interrupted all plans and was disastrous to Liberia's economy precisely because it stopped all trade with industrial countries. A postwar American loan was insufficient, and a better day for Liberia awaited the arrival of large-scale rubber investment in the 1930's and the end of forced labor by tribal Liberians.

Washington became the best-known Negro in the world when his autobiography became a world-wide best seller. It was translated into Zulu as well as the chief European languages, and some of the Africans who corresponded with him may have done so simply because he was a celebrity. Many Africans, however, responded hopefully to his message of self-help and industrial education. Students went to Tuskegee from all over Africa, though not in large numbers because scholarships and travel funds were lacking. Olivia E. P. Stokes, whose ancestors had been involved in the founding of Liberia, began in 1908 a Tuskegee scholarship fund for both Americo-Liberians and the sons of Liberian tribal chiefs. She and Washington began a correspondence that resulted, years after the death of both, in the creation of the Booker T. Washington Industrial Institute in Liberia under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.⁷² In every part of Africa other industrial schools were started in imitation of Tuskegee by whites and Negroes, by missionaries and governments.⁷³

Washington's most prominent African disciple was the Zulu educator the Reverend John L. Dube, who was educated in the United States. After a visit to Tuskegee, Dube returned home to found the Zulu Christian Industrial School at Ohlange, near Phoenix, Natal. Though his school was on a tract of land given by one of the Zulu chiefs, it was supported almost entirely by American philanthropists. Dube had to overcome the suspicions of white South Africans who considered American Negro missionaries subversive. He earned the title of "the Booker T. Washington of South Africa"

⁷² Olivia E. Phelps Stokes to Washington, Aug. 24, 1908, Aug. 19, Nov. 16, 1909 (47), Caroline Phelps Stokes to Washington, Oct. 14, 1908 (47), W. E. Stokes to Washington, Oct. 23, 1908 (381), and much other correspondence with the Stokes family after 1908, *ibid.*

⁷³ Space limitations prevent fuller development of the influence on Africans of Washington's industrial education ideas and social philosophy. The Washington Papers indicate that the schools listed below were substantially influenced by Tuskegee: Zulu Christian Industrial School, Ohlange, Natal; South African Native College, Fort Hare, Cape of Good Hope; Lovedale Industrial Institute, Lovedale, Cape of Good Hope; Pretoria Polytechnic Institute in Transvaal; American Baptist industrial mission at Mt. Silinda, Southern Rhodesia; Church of Scotland missions at Blantyre, Domasi, and elsewhere in Nyasaland; Lumbwa Industrial Mission in Kenya; Mittel und Gehelfen School of Kidugalo, German East Africa; African Training Institute, Colwyn Bay, North Wales; S. B. Thomas Agricultural Academy, Freetown, Sierra Leone; and industrial institutes founded or contemplated at Cape Coast, Gold Coast, and at Lagos and Ibadan in Nigeria. (See esp. Emmett J. Scott, "Tuskegee in Africa and Africa at Tuskegee," undated typescript [335], *ibid.*) Washington's influence on the African educator J. E. K. Aggrey seems to have been indirect, though he had some correspondence with Franz Boas about him. (See Edwin W. Smith, *Aggrey of Africa: A Study in Black and White* [New York, 1929], 140-41.)

by sponsoring a type of education calculated to mollify the local whites and by his example of middle-class conservatism and dignity. He succeeded in gaining the support not only of white leaders but the militant African nationalists as well. After his election as president of the South African National Congress by the more militant Africans, Dube wrote to his American sponsors: "I believe in being moderate as you will see in my letter of acceptance, and I regard it as a duty to my people to keep in check, the red-hot republicanism that characterize[s] some of our leaders, and is calculated to injure rather than help our cause."⁷⁴ A number of Dube's graduates later attended Tuskegee.

Another South African political moderate and educational leader, Davidson D. T. Jabavu, was more directly influenced by the Tuskegee educator. This graduate of the University of London spent three months at Tuskegee in 1913 under instructions from the South African Minister of Native Affairs to report on the adaptability of Tuskegee methods to South Africa. Jabavu and his father led in setting up the South African Native College at Fort Hare three years later.⁷⁵

A curious anomaly of the Washington Papers is his friendly correspondence with most of the leaders of African nationalism. There is no evidence, however, that he encouraged or even clearly understood their nationalistic and Pan-African views.⁷⁶ He initiated none of this correspondence, and about the only thing he seems to have had in common with the nationalists,

⁷⁴ Francis M. Sutton to Washington, June 25, 1903 (261), Louis Stoiber to Washington, Mar. 22, 1906 (261), Mar. 30, 1906 (321), Washington to Dube, Aug. 10, 1907 (346), Dube to Washington, Sept. 21, Oct. 25, Nov. 30, Dec. 3, 1907 (346), Sutton to Mrs. Horton, June 17, 1911, copy (439), Dube to members of the American Committee of the Zulu Christian Industrial School, Jan. 27, 1911, copy to Washington from Stoiber (921), Washington Papers.

⁷⁵ Catherine Impey, Somerset, Eng., to Washington, June 11, 1913 (479), Washington to Impey, July 16, 1913 (479), Sept. 29, 1913 (927), Jabavu to Washington, Sept. 4, 1913 (927), Jabavu to Scott, Sept. 5, 29, 1913 (927), Minister of Native Affairs, Pretoria, cable to Washington, Sept. 2, 1913, and Washington's reply by cable, Sept. 5, 1913 (927), Washington to John H. Harris, Sept. 9, 1913 (926), *ibid.* On Jabavu's subsequent career, see Mary Benson, *The African Patriots: The Story of the African National Congress of South Africa* (London, 1963), 33, 79, 81-86; Edward Roux, *Time Longer than Rope: A History of the Black Man's Struggle for Freedom in South Africa* (2d ed., Madison, Wis., 1964), 77, 286, 291, 293.

⁷⁶ Shepperson, "Negro American Influences," 310-11, and George Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism? The Coming Struggle for Africa* (New York, n. d. [1956?]), 108-12, correctly describe Washington as unsympathetic to militancy, and Shepperson recognizes Washington's ambiguity. Washington was an inactive director of the Philafrican Liberator's League in 1896. (Heli Chatelain to Washington, Oct. 5, Nov. 6, 1896 [115], Washington Papers.) The complexity of Pan-Africanism is shown by the essays in *Pan-Africanism Reconsidered*, ed. American Society for African Culture (Berkeley, Calif., 1962). The Dilemma of Negro Americans, torn between the desire to become fully integrated into the land of their birth and part of their ancestry and the appeal of *negritude* and the African "blood tie," is discussed in Harold R. Isaacs, *The New World of Negro Americans* (New York, 1963), but more perceptively in St. Clair Drake, "Hide My Face? On Pan-Africanism and Negritude," in *Soon One Morning: New Writing by American Negroes 1940-1962*, ed. Herbert Hill (New York, 1963), 78-105.

beyond skin color, was an acquiescence in segregation, which they may have construed as similar to their desire for national separatism.

In 1895 Washington made a celebrated address known as the Atlanta Compromise which won such enthusiastic support from whites of both sections that it established his position as a Negro leader. In this speech he acquiesced in segregation while at the same time pleading for economic opportunities for Negroes in agriculture and the trades. Soon thereafter he received a letter from Edward W. Blyden, the intellectual father of Black Nationalism, endorsing his position. Born in the West Indies of Togo slave parents, Blyden returned to Liberia for his education and then served the American Colonization Society and the governments of Liberia and Sierra Leone. Deeming Christianity a white man's religion, Blyden was converted to Islam. In other ways also he anticipated the Black Muslims of a later era: he glorified *negritude* and believed in a distinctive and somewhat mystical "African personality."⁷⁷ He wrote Washington that his 1895 speech was "an inspiration" and would go down to posterity alongside George Washington's Farewell Address. In some ways, he told Washington, his work was greater than that of the Father of his Country for whom he was named. "He freed one race from foreign domination, having another chained and manacled. But your words and your work will tend to free two races from prejudice and false views of life and of their mutual relations which hamper the growth of one and entirely cripple the other." The maxim in Washington's speech that Blyden particularly praised was that which said: "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." The separatist concept which was Tuskegee conservatism in the American context became radical nationalism in the African context. The simile of the separate fingers of the hand, wrote Blyden, "is a common one among the aborigines of Africa." He also endorsed as "common sense" Washington's assertion that the opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory was more important than the opportunity to spend the dollar in an opera house. Blyden wrote:

I recognize as healthful and encouraging elements in the condition of the Negro in the South his desire for material and intellectual improvement, his thirst for physical comfort, his craving for justice, which your work tends to stimulate. I do not understand his hunger for social equality with the dominant race, because equal-

⁷⁷ Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism?* 54-55; Colin Legum, *Pan-Africanism: A Short Political Guide* (London, 1962), 20-22; obituary of Blyden in *African World*, Feb. 10, 1912, clipping (1060), Washington Papers; Hollis R. Lynch, "The Native Pastorate Controversy and Cultural Ethno-centrism in Sierra Leone 1871-1874," *Journal of African History*, V (No. 3, 1964), 395-413.

ity depends upon so many things. It is a matter of taste which it is not in our power to regulate.⁷⁸

When Washington had dinner with President Roosevelt at the White House in 1901 and thus revealed that he was not at heart a segregationist, Blyden reversed his position to one of criticism of Washington.⁷⁹

Another central figure in the history of the African nationalist idea, the white missionary Joseph Booth, wrote to Washington in behalf of several causes. Perhaps best known for his slogan, "Africa for the Africans," Booth inspired and fostered John Chilembwe's insurrection in Nyasaland in 1915, which was "Ethiopian" or national rather than tribal.⁸⁰ Booth first corresponded with Washington in the interest of a scheme to colonize American Negroes in East Africa.⁸¹ Later he asked Washington to persuade Andrew Carnegie to promote racial peace in South Africa by giving a hundred thousand dollars a year toward American Negro colonization there. Park, Washington's chief adviser on Africa, dismissed Booth as a "little dinky missionary" whose peace fund "would be used in fighting the English government in South Africa to whose policy he is opposed and by whom he is regarded as an enemy of public peace."⁸² Washington's reply to Booth, drafted by Park, concluded that "the introduction of another alien element into South Africa would only increase the present irritation and make conditions worse."⁸³

The chief Gold Coast nationalist of the early twentieth century, J. E. Casely Hayford, wrote to Washington in 1904: "I have recently had the pleasure of reading your autobiography, and it occurred to me that if leading thinkers and workers of the African race had the opportunity of exchanging thoughts across the Atlantic, the present century would be likely to see the solution of the race problem." To further the dialogue to such an end, Hayford sent Washington copies of his own books.⁸⁴ Washington's

⁷⁸ Blyden to Washington, Sept. 24, 1895 (112), Oct. 3, 1895 (862), Washington Papers.

⁷⁹ For this information I am indebted to H. L. Wilson, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, at work on a life of Blyden; see also Blyden to J. Ormond Wilson, Aug. 11, 1897 (Vol. XXVII, Pt. 1), June 9, 1900 (Vol. XXVIII, Pt. 2), Blyden to the Reverend A. F. Beard, Oct. 20, 1899 (unbound letters received, 1894-99), in American Colonization Society Papers; Shepperson, "Negro American Influences," 299-301, 309-10.

⁸⁰ Booth's career in Africa is described in detail in George Shepperson and Thomas Price, *Independent African: John Chilembwe and the Origins, Setting, and Significance of the Nyasaland Native Rising of 1915* (Edinburgh, 1958), 19-123.

⁸¹ Booth to Washington, Jan. 19, 1902 (222), Apr. 2, May 12, July 22, 1902 (192), May 14, 1903 (249), leaflet by Booth, Dec. 13, 1901 (1), Washington Papers.

⁸² Scott to Park, Nov. 6, 1913; Park to Scott, Nov. 8, 1913 (66), *ibid*.

⁸³ Washington [actually Park, written on Park's typewriter] to Booth, undated draft about Nov. 1913 (66), *ibid*.

⁸⁴ See J. E. Casely Hayford to Washington, June 8, 1904, Washington to Hayford, July 6, 1904 (289), *ibid*. Washington's reply may not have reached Hayford, for it was addressed to

rather perfunctory reply enclosed some Tuskegee printed matter and invited him to visit the institution. Washington's friendship seems to have been closer with his brother, the Reverend Mark C. Hayford, who visited Tuskegee in 1912. Mark Hayford wrote from London:

I am here endeavoring to raise funds for the purpose of opening on the Gold Coast what I trust may in time be a sort of "Tuskegee," if only in miniature form, for the development, among other things, of industrial & technical education in that part of West Africa, where at present we have nothing at all adequate to meet the needs of the place—in fact nothing which gives any systematic industrial & technical training such as has proved so useful & helpful to the race in America, where under your able leadership so much has been accomplished which is destined to influence the future of the Negro more than any of us can conceive at present.⁸⁵

Mark Hayford arranged to give financial aid to at least one Gold Coast student at Tuskegee in 1912.⁸⁶ Casely Hayford in the same year sent Washington copies of his pamphlets attacking British colonial policies.⁸⁷

Some lesser figures of African nationalism also had contact with Washington. Pixley Ka Isaka Seme, a Zulu who later was a founder of the African National Congress, visited Tuskegee in 1906 while a student at Columbia University. He described himself as "carried away with" the Tuskegee plant, and added: "We need your spirit in South Africa." Seme gained admission to Tuskegee of a cousin interested in learning the printing trade.⁸⁸ Seme himself, after graduating from Columbia, studied at Jesus College, Oxford, where he organized a club of African students. He wrote Washington to ask for an endorsement of the club, whose purpose was not agitation but "the interchange of general ideas." He assured Washington that "violence in word or deed has no place in our programme." Yet, in the long run the club might have great influence. He noted "that here are to be found the future leaders of African nations temporarily thrown together and yet coming from widely different sections of that great and unhappy continent and that these men will, in due season, return each to a community that eagerly awaits him and perhaps influence its public opinion."⁸⁹ Washington's reply indicated good will, but counseled moderation and even conservatism:

"Ainn" instead of Axim, Gold Coast. The best source on Hayford is David Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana: The Rise of Gold Coast Nationalism, 1850-1928* (Oxford, Eng., 1963), 541 *et passim*.

⁸⁵ Mark C. Hayford to Washington, Jan. 31, 1912 (918), Washington to whom it may concern, recommending Hayford, Apr. 19, 1912 (455), Washington Papers.

⁸⁶ Mark C. Hayford to J. H. Palmer, registrar of Tuskegee, Sept. 14, 1912, Washington to Hayford, Dec. 22, 1912 (456), *ibid*.

⁸⁷ J. E. Casely Hayford to Washington, Apr. 17, 1912 (456), Aug. 7, 1912 (455), *ibid*.

⁸⁸ Seme to Washington, Jan. 29, 1907, Washington to Seme, Feb. 19, 1907 (359), *ibid*.

⁸⁹ Seme to Washington, Apr. 15, 1908 (381), *ibid*.

I am sure that English statesmen, the men whose counsels will finally prevail, believe as you and I do, that in the long run Africa can prosper only on condition that, not only the riches of the soil and the mines but the latent powers of the native people are developed in a rational manner. What that implies is a practical problem that can only be solved by study and experiment. You can and should help in the solution of that problem and there are ways that you can be helpful, as no one else can, both to your own people and to the government. More and more I am learning that you face in South Africa, in a somewhat different and more difficult form, the same task we have in this country.⁹⁰

When the two men met in London in 1910 Washington apparently rejected Seme's appeal to take a more active interest in African national causes. "I shall always regret that our meeting in London had to be marred by incidents of a personal character," Seme wrote. "Africa is certainly awakening mighty and hopeful. I know that it will be a great cause of inspiration and encouragement to us if you could enlist your interest to our course." Washington replied simply that he was "sorry that our meeting in London was not more satisfactory than it was."⁹¹

Washington refused to endorse a similar club at Liverpool University, the Ethiopian Progressive Association,⁹² but he encouraged the efforts of Moussa Mangoumbel, a Senegalese living in France, to promote world-wide Negro brotherhood.⁹³ He also took an interest in similar Pan-African efforts of West Indian and African expatriates in London, most notably those of Duse Mohammed, editor of the *African Times and Orient Review*.⁹⁴ Two important South African black nationalists, A. Kirkland Soga⁹⁵ and F. Z. S. Peregrino,⁹⁶ sought to introduce the Tuskegee educational system into South Africa and to send students to Tuskegee.

A suitable culmination of Washington's long interest in Africa was the International Conference on the Negro held at Tuskegee in 1912. The conference involved the same ambiguity of relationship to the blacks and whites that was evident in his other African activities and in his role in American

⁹⁰ Washington to Seme, Apr. 29, 1908 (381), *ibid*.

⁹¹ Seme to Washington, Jan. 13, 1911, Washington to Seme, Feb. 22, 1911 (439), *ibid*. On Seme's career as a nationalist leader, see Benson, *African Patriots*, 25-32; Roux, *Time Longer than Rope*, 108-13.

⁹² Kwesi Ewusi and I. A. Johnson to Washington, Feb. 14, 1906, Washington to Ewusi and Johnson, Mar. 9, 1906 (324), Washington Papers.

⁹³ Mangoumbel to Washington, Oct. 6, Nov. 12, 1906 (327), Dec. 6, 1906, Feb. 24, June 16, 1907 (353), *ibid*.

⁹⁴ Mohammed to Washington, Apr. 4, 1912 (465), May 1, 1912 (61), Scott to Park, May 13, 1912 (61), Washington to Mohammed, Apr. 18, 1912 (465), *ibid*.

⁹⁵ Soga, editor of *Izwi Labantu*, East London, Cape Colony, to Washington, Dec. 9, 1903 (294), *ibid*.

⁹⁶ Peregrino, managing editor, *South African Spectator*, Mafeking and Cape Town, to Washington, Jan. 25, 1911 (436), June 12, Sept. 4, 1912, Washington to Peregrino, July 13, 1912 (462), *ibid*.; see also typescript of Peregrino's paper, "The Black Man in South Africa," sent to the International Congress on the Negro at Tuskegee in 1912 (917), *ibid*. Peregrino had once lived in Buffalo, New York. (Indianapolis *Freeman*, May 14, 1898.)

society. Washington had attended none of the earlier international race conferences, at Atlanta in 1895 and in London in 1900 and 1911, to all of which he was invited,⁹⁷ perhaps because his chief American antagonists were prominent in them. As early as 1905 Park asked Washington: "Would you be willing to write an article recommending that the Powers in Africa, the missionaries and educators, come together in an international conference to devise means for the systematic and harmonious extension of Industrial training in Africa[?]" Park had already gathered much information on the subject, and in 1906 an article by Washington, or perhaps Park, in the *Independent* urged such a conference. Washington hoped that it would lead to the formation of a permanent society that would be "a sort of guardian of the native peoples of Africa, a friendly power, an influence with the public and in the councils where so often, without their presence or knowledge, the destinies of the African peoples and of their territories are discussed and decided." The society should include "explorers, missionaries and all those who are engaged, directly or indirectly, in constructive work in Africa."⁹⁸

Washington's formal call for the 1912 conference ignored the important but controversial issues of race and nationalism and stressed "a more systematic development of constructive educational work on the part of missionaries and governments."⁹⁹ Invitations were sent to the leading missionary societies and to thousands of individual missionaries. The State Department at Washington's request publicized the conference among European governments that had colonial possessions in Africa or the West Indies.¹⁰⁰ In view of the type of publicity, the distance from Africa, and the restrictions on travel of subject peoples, it is not surprising that most of the delegates were white. West Indians were present "in three colors," and twenty-five missionaries of twelve denominations and eighteen countries or colonies were represented, but very few black Africans.¹⁰¹

Several influential West Africans, however, gave their blessing to the conference from a distance. Blyden, who died before the meeting, had sent a letter commending its purposes. Washington read it to the delegates, as well as one from Casely Hayford. "There is an African Nationality," Hayford

⁹⁷ H. L. Williams, Pan-African Conference Committee, to Washington, Jan. 6, June 29, 1900 (187), Soga to Washington, Dec. 9, 1903 (294), W. E. B. Du Bois to Scott, Feb. 6, 1911 (421), Washington to Anderson, Jan. 23, 1911 (52), Park to Scott, Dec. 14, 1910 (54), Washington Papers.

⁹⁸ Booker T. Washington, "Industrial Education in Africa," *Independent*, LX (Mar. 15, 1906), 616-19.

⁹⁹ Washington, printed call for International Conference on the Negro, Apr. 17-19, 1912 (917), Washington Papers.

¹⁰⁰ Washington to Knox, Feb. 19, 1911 (427), Washington to Park, Aug. 3, 1911 (54), *ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Press releases, printed program, and lists of arrivals (917), *ibid.*

asserted, "and when the Aborigines of the Gold Coast and other parts of West Africa have joined forces with our brethren in America arriving at a national aim, purpose, and inspiration, then indeed, will it be possible for our brethren over the sea to bring home metaphorically to their nation and people a great spoil." Hayford went on to commend Washington's methods. "We feel here," he wrote, "that the great work that is being done at Tuskegee Institute has a mighty uplifting force for the race."¹⁰²

One of the principal speakers at the conference was Mark C. Hayford of the Gold Coast. He was scheduled to speak on industrial education in Africa, but, according to one report:

He had prepared a long historical paper, giving an account of the antiquity and past grandeur of some of the tribes who had reached the West Coast in the region where he lives. His paper was so learned and so long that Mr. Hayford did not succeed in completing it, but he told some very interesting facts in his cross examination by Dr. Washington, after he had finally given up the attempt to read his paper.¹⁰³

The delegates might have done well to have listened more respectfully to Hayford. The "tribes" referred to were probably the medieval kingdom of Ghana. Another speaker who was given a less respectful hearing than he deserved was Bishop Henry M. Turner of Atlanta, the "back to Africa" leader of his day. The general tone of discussion is suggested by the report that "There was no politics and very little theory in any of the three days' sessions."¹⁰⁴

On the last day the missionaries met to discuss the possibilities of greater cooperation among their denominations in the mission field. White South Africans were said to be suspicious of the purposes of American Negro missionaries. The representatives of the Negro Baptists, African Methodist Episcopal Church, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, and Colored Methodist Episcopal Church "were unanimous in saying that their only purpose in going to Africa was to help their brethren there and that in no case did they wish any of the people not to be loyal to the Governments under which they were living." They unanimously urged Washington to go to South Africa and explain to the whites that their purpose was "to uplift

¹⁰² Quoted in Washington's address of welcome, Apr. 16, 1912 (917), *ibid.*

¹⁰³ Report on first day of conference, Apr. 17, 1912 (917), *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Unsigned, undated typescript, "Some Results of the International Conference on the Negro" (917), *ibid.* A white South African who attended the conference was struck by the atmosphere of optimism that the Tuskegee hosts imparted to the conference and noted that one great question was never alluded to: the discrimination against Negroes in the United States. (See Maurice S. Evans, *Black and White in the Southern States: A Study of the Race Problem in the United States from a South African Point of View* [London, 1915], 135, 205.)

their brethren and not to incite sedition.”¹⁰⁵ Plans for a second conference three years later were disrupted by the First World War and Washington’s death.¹⁰⁶

A mere review of Washington’s activities and expressed attitudes still leaves his role somewhat enigmatic. He never went to Africa, though he found time for three trips to Europe. He considered his principal mission in life to be the spreading of the educational system and social philosophy symbolized by Tuskegee Institute. It was consistent with this commitment to encourage American Negro enterprise and ethnocentric philanthropy in Africa. On the other hand, Washington rejected the proposals of emigrationists, visionaries, and missionaries as inconsistent with the Tuskegee ideal.

Just as Washington had built a career in the United States by telling Negroes what influential whites wanted them to hear, so in Africa he supported the principle if not all the practices of colonialism. There as here, Washington’s role and outlook were complex, but they supported the concept of the white man’s burden. This burden was not entirely hypocritical, of course. Washington acquiesced in the leadership of white men, but he was prompt to remind them when they neglected the responsibilities of power. In Togo and South Africa he supported the colonial structure, if not the *status quo*. In the Congo he reminded the white rulers of their obligations. To Liberia Washington offered the form of Negro nationalism and self-government, while the substance of political and economic power went to American officials and international bankers, though he showed more sensitivity than the usual white man toward the problems of the Liberian tribal aborigines. Washington’s extensive if fruitless correspondence with African nationalists is also hard to explain. It is important to remember that the nationalist leaders initiated the correspondence and that Washington yielded to them no important concessions. He remained a social pacifist for whom industrial education was a universal panacea. Its method and ethos seemed to him as applicable to African problems as to those of American Negroes.

¹⁰⁵ Reports of the committee of missionaries (917), Washington Papers.

¹⁰⁶ Press release on the conference (917), *ibid*.

Bureaucracy and Freedom: N. M. Korkunov's Theory of the State

GEORGE L. YANEY*

POLITICAL freedom, as Americans commonly understand it, proceeds from the rule of law. In the ideal "free" society, statutes and judicial decisions form the working relationships among the citizens into a legal system. The legal system establishes and limits the organs of political authority in terms of specific rules, publicly and formally enacted, which allow the office-holders to act only on certain occasions and in certain ways. Individual citizens, on the other hand, may not be constrained by political authority unless they violate specific rules. In order to assure that the formal law preserves individual rights in practice, a supreme law assigns authority to enact and interpret statutes to institutions separate from the police power. Most commonly, a representative legislature enacts the laws that govern the executive administration, and a separate judiciary interprets the laws to ensure that written provisions and official actions do not logically contradict one another.

Every human society rests on its members' belief that they derive benefits, serve purposes, or avoid harm by observing the working rules implicit or explicit in their mutual relationships. The "free" society is no exception to this, but its members do not merely recognize rules. In addition they assume that the working rules involving political authority—all formal statutes and judicial decisions—ought to and do proceed from a logically consistent system, or, to be more specific, a system that does not contradict itself. Supposedly, they are willing to subordinate their individual and local relationships to a self-consistent legal system because they generally assume that there is no logical inconsistency between the larger system and their own relationships and that a measure of rational consistency in political authority is indispensable to their own "freedom." The members of a "free" society are generally unaware of these assumptions; scholars and political leaders often deny their validity in particular cases. Nevertheless, "free" citizens operate

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practically and perform their everyday functions on the understanding, tacit or expressed, that their purposes and desires are rational and that there is no basic contradiction between a logically consistent legal system and individual political "freedom." To reject this assumption is to remove the logical foundation for both the rule of law and the notion that political freedom proceeds from it.¹

But suppose that a territorial state establishes itself over a people who do not pattern their lives on the assumptions that inform "free" men. Suppose that a government comes to rule over a scattering of small social groups whose economic self-sufficiency has isolated them from one another. The working rules that emerge from social relationships vary widely from group to group, and they impede the development of a common legal system instead of furthering it.² The government tries to keep order among the people, but local custom does not comprehend the operations of a central police force. The formal rules regulating the police do not emerge from the actual relationships between police and people but only from the imaginations of administrators. The government's written rules may be logically self-consistent, but to a people who live in worlds formed wholly out of local custom they seem arbitrary. In this state the central government cannot control its own organization effectively because the police who actually deal with the people find it expedient to enforce order in accordance with existing customs rather than their official regulations. Interaction between the central government and the small social groups does not produce a legal system directly. More often than not it renders the relatively gentle oligarchies of local custom into rigid hierarchies of privilege enforced in practice by a police authority acting in violation of its own regulations.³ Formal law remains remote from the practical relationships of everyday life in society and government alike.

In this state, men cannot be free in the American sense of the word. The government's operations are necessarily arbitrary. It can enact statutes, but since they do not apply to practical relationships, they are not likely to con-

¹ Talcott Parsons, in his *The Structure of Social Action* (Glencoe, Ill., 1937), 16-19, discusses the implied sociological assumptions on which Anglo-American political forms rest.

² A. A. Leontev, "Volostnoi sud i obychnoe pravo" [The Volost Court and Customary Law], *Zhurnal iuridicheskogo obshchestva pri imperatorskogo S-Peterburgskogo universiteta*, XXIV (Nov. 1894), 2-56, argues that peasant customs in Russia could not develop into a modern legal system because they were habitual and spontaneous rather than rational and systematic. To enforce them systematically would not make them rational or just, only rigid and burdensome.

³ A. I. Engelhardt, *Iz derevni* [From the Village] (Moscow, 1937), 83-84, 119, 160-62, 191-92, 221-29, 316-43, discusses police-peasant relationships of this sort in some detail. His remarks are based on what he saw when he lived among the peasants of Smolensk guberniya in the 1870's.

trol anyone's behavior, and the courts of law cannot enforce them. The people themselves find it difficult to develop dependable working rules because whatever agreements they do adopt are always subject to violation by government officials. Yet the government must exist and maintain itself in whatever way it can, if for no other reason than simply to protect the land against invasion.⁴

The Russian government has faced such an impasse throughout its history; thus in Russia the problem of freedom and law is different from what it has been in America. For centuries Russian statesmen and jurists have been faced with the task of explaining what role law plays and how it develops in a society where the working relationships among the people provide no foundation for it, where the state's attempts to bring order to the social relationships among its people are necessarily disruptive and therefore self-negating.⁵ This was what Nikolai Mikhailovich Korkunov attempted to do.

Concerning Korkunov's life the available sources say very little.⁶ He was born in 1853 in St. Petersburg, the son of a historian. From 1870 to 1874 he studied jurisprudence at St. Petersburg University and went on to pass the magistrate's examination in 1876. He published his first article in 1877, and in the following year, at the age of twenty-five, he occupied the chair for the introduction to the study of law (*entsiklopedicheskoe pravo*) at St. Petersburg. For about the next ten years Korkunov's published works and his teaching were devoted to international law,⁷ the general theory of law,⁸ com-

⁴ M. M. Speranskii, the chief author of the Russian law code of 1834, describes the difficulties of imposing law on Russia in these terms; see his notes of 1802 in *Proekty i zapiski* [Projects and Notes] (Moscow, 1961), 18-22, 42-51, 56-67.

⁵ E.g., *ibid.*; see also K. D. Kavelin, *Krestianskii vopros* [The Peasant Question] (St. Petersburg, 1882), 16-27.

⁶ The following are the available sources: S. A. Korff, s. v. "Korkunov," in *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar* [Encyclopedia], ed. F. A. Brockhaus and I. A. Efron (41 vols. plus 2 suppl. vols., St. Petersburg, 1891-1907), XV, 264-65; *Novyi entsiklopedicheskii slovar* [New Encyclopedia] (29 vols., Petrograd, 1911-16), XXII, cols. 782-84; *Biograficheskii slovar professorov i prepodavitelei Imperatorskogo S-Peterburgskogo Universiteta: 1869-1894* [Biographical Dictionary of the Professors and Lecturers of St. Petersburg University: 1869-1894] (2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1896-98), I, 344-46; V. E. Grabar, *Materialy k istorii literatury mezhdunarodnogo prava v Rossii: 1647-1917* [Materials for the History of the Study of International Law in Russia: 1647-1917] (Moscow, 1958), 352-54; *Novoe vremia*, Nov. 29, 1904.

⁷ Grabar, *Materialy k istorii*, says that Korkunov's ideas on international law represented radical departures from the concepts that prevailed in his time. In Russia, at least, they constituted a significant contribution. They are summarized in N. M. Korkunov, "Mezhdunarodnoe pravo i ego sistema" [System of International Law], in *Sbornik statei N. M. Korkunova* [Selected Articles of N. M. Korkunov] (St. Petersburg, 1898), 436-58, first published in 1891. His earliest articles on international law dealt with specific topics.

⁸ Chiefly, *id.*, *Lektsii po obshchei teorii prava* [Lectures on the General Theory of Law] (3d ed., St. Petersburg, 1894). The first edition, entitled *Entsiklopedicheskoe pravo* [Introduction to the Study of Law], came out in 1883. The English translation (this is the only one of Korku-

parative law,⁹ and German administrative theory.¹⁰ About his own country he wrote nothing at all. In 1889, however, he replaced A. D. Gradovskii in the chair for Russian state law (*gosudarstvennoe pravo*) at St. Petersburg University, and from then on he devoted much of his attention to Russia.

His major works were published in the mid-1890's.¹¹ The last one, *Istoriia filosofii prava*, he never completed, although he produced a much-expanded second edition in 1898. In general the volume of his published work decreased sharply after 1895, and by 1899, the year he gave up his university chair, he had stopped writing altogether. He died in 1904 at the age of fifty-one in a mental institution.¹²

Korkunov never made his personal motives or beliefs explicit in his published works. He has left only formal studies designed to present scholarly conclusions. Nevertheless, his writings reflect a number of attitudes clearly and consistently enough that they may be taken to have been fundamental. Above all, he was devoted to the Imperial Russian state. His first article, published in 1877, dealt with the general question of privateers in international law, but his analysis constituted an elaborate justification for a proposal that Russia outfit some privateers in violation of the Peace of Paris of 1856.¹³ In 1890 he scolded his fellow jurists for not studying Russian law and government more and foreign systems less.¹⁴ His own writings on Russian government are not merely descriptive; he obviously intended them to convey suggestions for contemporary policy and future development.¹⁵

nov's works to be translated into any foreign language) seems to have been taken from a French translation of the second edition. (See *id. General Theory of the Law* [Boston, 1909].)

⁹ *Id.*, *Sraunitelnyi ocherk gosudarstvennogo prava inostrannykh derzhav* [Comparative Study of the State Law of Foreign Powers] (St. Petersburg, 1890).

¹⁰ *Id.*, "Ocherk teorii administrativnoi iustitsii [Essay on the Theory of Administrative Justice], in *Sbornik statei*, 179-213, and "Administrativnye sudy v Prussii" [Administrative Courts in Prussia], *ibid.*, 220-31. These articles were originally published in 1885 and 1880, respectively.

¹¹ He published the two volumes of *Russkoe gosudarstvennoe pravo* [Russian State Law] in 1893-1894. The third edition of *Lektsii po obshchei teorii prava* [Lectures on the General Theory of Law], which constituted a substantial revision of the earlier versions, came out in 1894; *Ukaz i zakon* [Decree and Statute], also in 1894; and *Istoriia filosofii prava* [History of the Philosophy of Law], in 1896.

¹² S. A. Vengerov, *Kritiko-biograficheskii slovar russkikh pisatelei i uchenikh* [Biographical Dictionary of Russian Writers and Scholars] (2 vols., Petrograd, 1915), I, 399.

¹³ Korkunov, "O kaperakh" [Privateers], in *Sbornik statei*, 524-60.

¹⁴ *Id.*, "Kak u nas znaiut zakony" [How Well We Know Our Laws], *Iuridicheskaiia letopis* (May 1890), 472-77.

¹⁵ The only subject on which Korkunov ever wrote anything that could be called polemical was Russification. He believed in the government's policies wholly and, apparently, sincerely. See *id.*, "Velikoe Knazhestvo finlandskoe" [The Grand Duchy of Finland], *ibid.* (Apr. 1890), 317-29, and "Finlandskii seim" [The Finnish Sejm], *ibid.* (Jan. 1891). It was probably in these years that Korkunov was working with the government commission on Finland. (Grabar, *Materialy k istorii*, 353.) Korkunov's writings on the nationalities show him at his worst. See also his article on the Baltic Germans, "Tri dvorianstva Rossii" [The Three Aristocracies of Russia], *Novoe vremia*, Nov. 19, 1898.

Despite Korkunov's concern for Russia, his critics often accused him of an excessive preoccupation with German scholarship and a tendency to lose himself in abstract reasoning that bore no relation to concrete Russian problems.¹⁶ His writings prior to 1890 say nothing of Russian law. Even in his works on his native land his major concern is not so much to describe Russian government as to explain it in terms of a theoretical system that is in large part German. Aside from references to primary sources, most of the footnotes in *Russkoe gosudarstvennoe pravo* are in German. Nevertheless, Korkunov's concern for Russia was sincere. He admired German scholarship, but this was because he regarded German influence as a basic and constructive element in Russian culture, not an alien intrusion. He was loyal to the Russian state, not to any nationality or traditional culture. His native land was the Russia of St. Petersburg, a Russia consciously in the process of development, a state and law as yet without form understandable only in terms of the direction in which it was moving.¹⁷ By their very nature his concepts were abstract, but they were not unreal or irrelevant. In the Russia of St. Petersburg—the Russia that was becoming—Korkunov's theories were ultimately far more vital than the dreams of holy peasants, truly noble aristocrats, and enlightened electorates that filled the imaginations of the contemporary intelligentsia. Korkunov's Russia was neither peasant villages nor the Orthodox Church nor the aspirations of the educated classes for Westernization but rather the tension between all these elements and the processes of change to which the tension gave rise. A concrete reality so sharply self-contradictory could not be articulated without using abstract terms. Korkunov's terms were German not so much because he was an imitator, but because for two centuries the problems of introducing legal systems to Germany and Austria were in many ways similar to those that Russia's statesmen had faced.¹⁸ Korkunov, native son of St. Petersburg, was following the

¹⁶ See, e.g., Korff, "Korkunov." The man whose theory of the state most closely resembles his own and from whom Korkunov borrowed most heavily was a German, Lorenz von Stein. In his *Gegenwart und Zukunft der Rechts und Staatswissenschaft Deutschlands* (Stuttgart, 1879), 88–145, one may find most of the elements of Korkunov's theory. Indeed, in some ways Stein's statement is more perceptive than Korkunov's.

¹⁷ Speranskii conceived of legal development in the same way. Law had to be based on existing social relationships, and since these did not as yet transcend local groups in Russia the would-be legislators would have to hypothesize them by predicting the way in which the existing society would develop. (*Proekty*, 21–23.)

¹⁸ By Korkunov's time, the influence of German theory and practice on Russian law and government had developed into a tradition of two centuries. Concerning German influence on Korkunov's immediate predecessors, see D. P. Hammer, "Two Russian Liberals: The Political Thought of B. N. Chicherin and K. D. Kavelin," doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1962, 21–26. For a recent evaluation of German influence in earlier times, especially that of Samuel von Pufendorf, see Georges Bissonnette, "The Program for the Church Reforms of Peter the Great," doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1961. Bissonnette's study bears out Korkunov's general statement (in *Istoriia filosofii*, 4th ed., 233, 251–52) that Russian jurisprudence in

example of Lorenz von Stein, citizen of Vienna, whose perception it was that the jurists of a nation whose rulers introduce an alien system of government will come to understand the system better than its own devisors and native practitioners.¹⁹

Like many German and Russian legal scholars of his day, Korkunov defined the state as that institution in modern society having the exclusive authority to use physical force to compel men to act or to refrain from acting.²⁰ It evolves from many roots, but its authority rests ultimately on its subjects' awareness of their dependence on it. According to Korkunov, a group of men are mutually dependent whenever each of them can anticipate with reasonable accuracy what the rest will do in response to his actions. If each member can predict how his fellows will react to his own words and deeds, then he can influence their behavior and use them for his own purposes. As a group accumulates a fund of common experience, new relationships of this sort evolve among its members in an ever-expanding variety. The members develop habitual patterns of behavior based on their ways of using each other, until at last they become aware of their dependence on the group as a whole. They then feel compelled to define their relationships in terms of general rules and to recognize as an authority whoever enforces these rules effectively. To put it another way, they become aware that their habitual actions conform to certain "commonly held ideas," which give form to their sense of dependence. Ultimately the rules that require enforcement become a written code of laws, and the authority becomes a state.²¹

the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was to Western legal scholars and institutions somewhat as the glossers of medieval times were to the Roman jurists and codes.

¹⁹ Stein, *Gegenwart und Zukunft*, 299-319. An American scholar, Theodore Von Laue, has made this point concerning the development of non-Western areas in general in several of his works. (See, e.g., his article in *Russian Foreign Policy*, ed. Ivo J. Lederer [New Haven, Conn., 1962], 83.) F. L. Maitland acknowledges that German nineteenth-century legal scholars were the leaders in developing a theoretical understanding of British common law. (See his introduction to O. Gierke, *Political Theories of the Middle Ages* [Cambridge, Eng., 1951], x-xiv, xxix-xxx.) In his "Why the History of English Law Was Not Written," in *Frederic William Maitland, Historian: Selections from His Writings*, ed. Robert Livingston Schuyler (Berkeley, Calif., 1960), 132-44, he explains why the English lagged behind: they never studied anyone else's law. "There is nothing that sets a man thinking and writing to such good effect about a system of law and its history as an acquaintance however slight with other systems and their history." (*Ibid.*, 136.)

²⁰ N. M. Korkunov, *Russkoe gosudarstvennoe pravo* [Russian State Law] (6th ed., 2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1908-1909), I, 33.

²¹ *Id.*, "O nauchnom izuchenii prava" [The Scientific Study of Law], in *Sbornik statei*, 17-64. "Legal consciousness is the awareness of the possibility of influencing others on the basis of some kind of commonly held ideas." (*Ibid.*, 42.) A man attempts to influence his fellows by "Psikhicheskoe vozdeistvie," by somehow calling forth in their minds the inclination to do what he desires them to do. The most primitive way of achieving this is by mimicking. Once the idea is understood, that is, "commonly held," it becomes an embryonic "pravo." "One of the particular methods of psychological influence is to demand from another the observation of a known type of

It is fundamental to Korkunov's thought that law does not develop as a means to protect individual interests; rather, it forms and delimits them.²² Men accept law because it allows them to predict each other's actions, not because it protects them from one another. Law that only protected the weak from the strong could not withstand the opposition of the strong. Law persists and grows, Korkunov says, because it is itself a source of strength. In any society a man often finds it in his interest to violate a particular rule. He hesitates to do so primarily because he is aware that his specific violation might disrupt the network of relationships that form the basis for his own "power."²³ He senses his dependence on the law whenever he is inclined to violate it, and his conscious dependence creates that social "power," of which the law is an expression. Legal development regulates the exercise of social power, but since it intensifies men's awareness of their dependence, it increases the power of each individual to act in his own interests. Thus, the development of law and a consciously recognized common interest do not bring an end to conflict. On the contrary, conflicts assume wider dimensions as an effective legal system adds power and scope to private interests.²⁴

As a legal system grows more effective, so also must the power that upholds it and enforces its provisions in the common interest. Modern society needs not only law but also state power—a government organization that enforces, defines, and creates norms. State power develops primarily because individuals regard the law as a force that they can manipulate to serve their own interests. Each citizen "calls upon the state's power whenever it is necessary or advantageous to him, and he seeks to paralyze this power when its action opposes his interests."²⁵ State power is "like all forces which can serve as a means to the pursuit of men's interests."²⁶ It is essential to the maintenance of the law, and of society itself, because although the people constitute the basis for political power, they cannot exercise it effectively to maintain

conduct as the necessary consequence of some kind of commonly held idea, which in our minds is a compelling motive for action." (*Ibid.*, 29.) Law, then, is a particular kind of psychological influence, as opposed to threat, sympathy, and so forth. "Pravo came into being when there emerged a few generally recognized ideas among the people making up society which became for them commonly known rules. Only from this moment does conscious work for the development of these ideas begin." (*Ibid.*, 31; see also *id.*, *General Theory*, 31–50.)

²² *Id.*, *Ukaz i zakon*, 182–95, 234–37.

²³ *Ibid.*, 187–88.

²⁴ Struggle, says Korkunov, is the "necessary condition for both life and growth." (*Ibid.*, 134; see also *ibid.*, 234–37, *id.*, "Obshchestvennoe znachenie prava" [The Social Significance of the Law], in *Sbornik statei*, 73–76, "Gosudarstvo i svoboda" [State and Freedom], *Iuridicheskaiia letopis* [Jan. 1892], 7–10, *General Theory*, 58–60.) Perhaps the best statement of the concept of law emerging from struggle, certainly the best-known in its day, is in Rudolf von Ihering, *The Struggle for Law* (Chicago, 1879), originally published in German in 1872. Korkunov often acknowledged that he owed much to Ihering.

²⁵ Korkunov, *Ukaz i zakon*, 186.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 190–91.

law merely by acting as separate individuals. State power is not only a means to an end but the statesman's responsibility and his trust; power, not freedom or justice, is his first concern; power, not law or justice in themselves, is the primary attribute of the state.²⁷

If the state's power rests on its subjects' awareness of their dependence, then so does political authority. In all states, absolutist and constitutional alike, it is not the will of the ruler that governs but rather the dynamic processes and relationships within society. Korkunov's state follows no one's conscious ideals or purposes, neither those of the ruler nor those of the subjects. It is a unity of relationships, not a unity of will.²⁸ Even in absolutist Russia, the orders of the ruler were formed by his experience and the exigencies of his situation, not his personal desires. Moreover, the process of carrying out his orders influenced their ultimate effects in ways quite apart from what he intended. In Russia, as elsewhere, the ruler's authority could be much greater than he realized or much less, depending not on himself but on his subjects and their relationships. His authority could even lead his subjects to act in opposition to his desires. No ruler knows what his authority is, Korkunov says, because it is not his.²⁹

The idea that a state's power derives from its subjects' awareness of their dependence on it and from their conflicts is the heart of Korkunov's theory. From it he deduces two principles. On the one hand he says that the state's power is absolute, above law and above individual rights;³⁰ on the other he insists that the political freedom of the individual is the indispensable basis for the state.³¹

²⁷ See *id.*, "Gosudarstvo i svoboda," 3-12, *Russkoe gosudarstvennoe pravo*, I, 11-77, *General Theory*, 78-85.

²⁸ *Id.*, *Ukaz i zakon*, 164-71, 195, and *General Theory*, 162-63, 290-321. This concept was far ahead of the European thought of his day, although Stein had already outlined it in the 1870's. (See note 16, above.) Maurice Hauriou, a French jurist who first published his notions of administrative law in the 1900's and first attracted general attention in the late 1920's, also denied that the authority of the state is vested in the ruler or the formal authorities, and for this the legal scholars of the late 1920's and 1930's hailed him as a great innovator. (See W. I. Jennings, "The Institutional Theory," in *Modern Theories of Law* [London, 1933], 68-85.)

²⁹ Korkunov sees the executive in much the same way as the advocates of "realistic" jurisprudence in America see the judge. The orders that Korkunov's executive issues are not really guides but rather guesses as to what he can get people to do. Oliver Wendell Holmes, on the other hand, suggests that law is simply "the prophecies of what the courts will do in fact." (Quoted in A. L. Goodhart, "Some American Interpretations of Law," in *Modern Theories*, 9.) In Korkunov's view, the state tries out society in order to find out what law is, whereas Holmes sees society as trying out the state. I know of no statement that sums up the differences between the Russian and American states better than this. For an approach to American jurisprudence very similar to Korkunov's, see John R. Commons, *Legal Foundations of Modern Capitalism* (Madison, Wis., 1959), first published in 1924.

³⁰ Korkunov, *Russkoe gosudarstvennoe pravo*, I, 65-77, and *General Theory*, 341-43.

³¹ *Id.*, "Obshchestvennoe znachenie prava," 75-76: "modern state life is unthinkable without the recognition that both the individual and the state power possess inviolable rights."

Obviously, the principles of absolute state and free individual are mutually contradictory. Korkunov fits them both into his theory by asserting that in modern society it is not law but effective government administration that is the most important guarantee of political freedom. In practice, Korkunov says, the government of a modern state will circumvent the law, even its own statutes, whenever the leading statesmen think it necessary or the operating officials find it feasible.³² The only practical assurance of political freedom is that the government, if it is well administered, is likely to act to preserve and enhance the power of the state, which means that those who have political authority will want to foster the feeling of dependence among the citizens by preserving and developing law.³³

No part of Korkunov's theory has aroused more criticism than his assertion that state power is absolute and above the law. Commentators on his works invariably point out that he has not resolved the contradiction between absolute state and free individual.³⁴ What they have almost unanimously failed to note is that he never claimed to do so. Korkunov merely pointed out that the absolute state was a fact of life and that whatever freedom the individual might possess would have to be discovered within its framework.³⁵ He never said that the absolute state somehow guaranteed individual freedom; he insisted, rather, that the contradiction between them was inescapable in all modern states, constitutional and autocratic alike, and that political theorists should not close their eyes to it.

Unresolved logical contradictions appear in all political theories. They do not weaken the theories themselves, since theories are not prescriptions for action but only frameworks that make clear what the problems of political action are. A democratic politician must satisfy his constituents yet act to preserve the state. An administrator must be firm yet flexible. These are contradictions, but they do not render all democracies and administrative organizations ridiculous; nor do they prevent politicians or administrators from fulfilling their daily tasks. Neither does the absolute state necessarily deprive the individual of his freedom.

Like most legal scholars, Korkunov believed that the effective exercise of political power in a modern society was impossible if the government administration did not generally operate within some sort of legal system.³⁶ If a

³² *Id.*, *Ukaz i zakon*, 270-71.

³³ *Id.*, *Russkoe gosudarstvennoe pravo*, I, 446-50, and *General Theory*, 373.

³⁴ E.g., Sergeevich's argument in Korkunov's doctoral dispute in *Zhurnal Iuridicheskogo Obshchestva*, XXIV (Nov. 1894), 62-64.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Korkunov, "Administrativnye sudy v Prussii" and "Ocherk teorii administrativnoi iustitsii" (see note 10, above), and *Ukaz i zakon*, v-vi.

citizen cannot predict the government's reaction to his own actions, he cannot achieve his goals by depending on it, and if he ceases to depend on the state, then the state's power disappears. Without law, the citizenry cannot be consciously dependent, only helpless. Obviously, it is necessary to the state that the government administration operate predictably and systematically.³⁷ It would seem, therefore, that there is no essential difference between the rule of law and the effective operation of government administration.

But, Korkunov says, law is dynamic and can never be reduced to statutes and written constitutions. Official enactments and decisions can only approximate the law of which the people are conscious, that law which defines their interests and sets the stage for their conflicts. The state's executive agencies must always do more than follow formal orders and statutes in order to carry out their functions; they must also interact with society.³⁸

The field agents of a government, the lowest level of the state bureaucracy, receive both the statutory law and their own assignments as orders from their superiors. They apply these orders to society by issuing commands of their own. A tax collector, for example, has written rules to follow and taxes to collect. If he finds that the rules do not fit well with his functioning, he tries to circumvent them. In the normal course of his work he either negotiates directly with the representatives of local institutions or he simply issues commands and determines by the people's reaction what he can really get them to do. His alternative to this dynamic interaction is simply to report to his superior that he cannot make his collections under the existing statutes, but in practice he is hardly likely to give up his job so easily. In his own interests the collector wants above all to discover workable means to get his taxes.

Tax collectors and other government agents act as parts of society, not only as tools of the state. Their negotiations with institutions of local government and the people at large lead to the development of practical legal relationships which do not necessarily agree with statutes or executive orders. In fact, these relationships are often themselves the basis from which statutes and higher regulations derive. It follows that formal statutes and judicial controls cannot limit the state's officials adequately; this is as true for parliamentary governments as it is for absolute monarchies.³⁹ There is no sure

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 185-91, 234-37. ". . . before anyone can direct the state power according to his own will, it must first be possible to awaken the people's consciousness of their dependence on it and to give it form." (*Ibid.*, 186; see also *id.*, *Russkoe gosudarstvennoe pravo*, I, 441-49, and *General Theory*, 352-404.)

³⁸ *Id.*, *Russkoe gosudarstvennoe pravo*, I, 60-77, II, 220-22.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 65-216, 417-21. Korkunov believed that good government required the participation of elected representatives, but he thought they should serve as advisers to the professional

guarantee in any government that executive agencies will respect private rights or even that they will act in the state's interest. Monarchs and representative legislatures alike find it difficult to cope with the tendency of government agents to carry out their tasks in cooperation with the privileged elements in local society, leaving the common people to the mercy of local oligarchies. If statutes do not limit government officials effectively, then surely it is unrealistic to demand that the state itself be bound by them absolutely.

How then is the state to regulate its own administration and to ensure that its officials are acting in its interests, that they are acting to intensify the citizens' awareness of their dependence? Korkunov answers that legality in administration must develop just as it does in society: out of the awareness among the officials of their dependence on their own system. The mere writing of rules is no more effective in bringing system to a highly developed administration than it would be in a primitive village. Formal assurances of legality, such as separate courts, separate legislative branches, and the like, are necessary to orderly government administration, but in themselves they do not assure the prevalence of legality. The main problem, Korkunov suggests, is to organize the executive administration so that its individual members and its agencies actually depend on one another. He proposes several methods to achieve this, the most important being to divide each executive function among several operating agencies. In this way, no one of them can complete its task without the cooperation of the others. Ideally, the experience of coordinated action will incline all the agencies to follow common rules and procedures.⁴⁰ System in the government as a whole will emerge gradually from practice, as each agency follows its own interests and each official follows his in relationships of mutual dependence.⁴¹

servitors on boards and courts within the executive organization. (*Ibid.*, II, 345-46.) Ideally, there would be representatives on all levels of the administration. As for elected parliaments, they were likely to fall under the domination of political parties. The delegates would not really represent their constituents, and if they held their positions too long they would become, in effect, part of the administration. Korkunov did not disapprove of political parties as such (*id.*, *Ukaz i zakon*, 194) so long as they competed with each other and did not become entrenched machines, but he denied that they represented the people simply by virtue of their winning elections. He saw no reason to impart authority to their successful candidates except in countries where this was already an established practice. (*Ibid.*, 269-71.)

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 215-21. Korkunov suggests other methods of administrative control, but this, he says, is the most significant.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 216-308. "General rules work themselves out only little by little in the course of events." (*Id.*, *Russkoe gosudarstvennoe pravo*, II, 222.) "... in practice, an administration constantly decides questions of law for itself." (*Id.*, "Ocherk teorii administrativnoi iustitsii," 213.) N. I. Lazarevskii carries this view much further. According to him, most of an administration's decision making is done by its lowest echelons. "... administrative decisions are not made by the monarch, nor even by the ministers, but rather by their subordinates in both local and central offices." (N. I. Lazarevskii, *Lektsii po russkomu gosudarstvennomu pravu* [Essays on Russian

The same principle of mutual dependence applies to the interaction between government administration and private citizens. Autonomous institutions of local government should operate in such a way that officials of the central administration must interact and negotiate with them in order to carry out their functions. A central judicial system, organized apart from the operating executive departments, is essential to preserve the autonomy of local institutions, but it is equally important that central government officials be forced to rely on the elected men in practice. The mutual dependence of central and local officials gives rise to a system of legal relationships between them, and these should bridge the gap between the legal relations of private life and those of government administration.⁴²

In short, Korkunov's solution to the constitutional problem of state power is simply to organize government administration realistically. Both Montesquieu's separation of powers and the division of executive functions among several agencies and institutions provide the most effective basis for legality in the state. Not statutes, but the conflicts of interest among men who recognize their mutual dependence are the best guarantee of political freedom.⁴³

State Law] [2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1910], II, 158.) Contemporary American jurists were aware that law derived from administrative practice. An opinion of Justice McLean of the US Supreme Court notes that: "A practical knowledge of the action of any one of the great departments of the government must convince every person that the head of a department, in the distribution of its duties and responsibilities, is often compelled to use his discretion. He is limited in the exercise of his powers by the law; but it does not follow that he must show a statutory provision for everything he does. No government could be administered on such principles. To attempt to regulate by law the minute movements of every part of the complicated machinery of government would evince a most unpardonable ignorance on the subject. Whilst the great outlines of its movements may be marked out, and limitations imposed on the exercise of its powers, there are numberless things which must be done that can neither be anticipated nor defined, and which are essential to the proper action of the government. Hence, of necessity, usages have been established in every department of the government, which have become a kind of common law, and regulate the rights and duties of those who act within their respective limits." (Quoted in F. J. Goodnow, *Comparative Administrative Law* [New York, 1893], 32.)

⁴² Korkunov, *Russkoe gosudarstvennoe pravo*, II, 488–593. Korkunov saw local autonomous institutions primarily as instruments for bringing central government and people into harmony, rather than as a means by which localities could enjoy "rights" in opposition to the central government. (*Ibid.*, 488–89.) The service rendered to the state by local autonomous institutions was indispensable. Officials on the lowest echelon of the administration had to be very flexible in carrying out their duties in order to interact properly with society. If central officials under strict bureaucratic control tried to do this they would either be so restricted by their superiors as to be unresponsive to local needs or they would be dangerously free of supervision, hence likely to be arbitrary. (*Ibid.*, 493–95.) Korkunov, like most of the Russian and German legal scholars of his time, acquired his concepts of local autonomous government from Stein. (See, e.g., Lorenz von Stein, *Handbuch der Verwaltungslehre* [2d ed., Stuttgart, 1876], 23–27, 34–44.)

⁴³ Korkunov regarded Montesquieu's separation of powers as a type of joint (*sovmestnyi*) administration. Its essential advantage was not so much that it broke up the government into separate parts but that it required them to interact with each other. (Korkunov, *Ukaz i zakon*, 200–14.) In the same way, the separateness of local autonomous institutions from the central administration was not their most important feature. Their autonomy was important only because it forced the central organs to interact with them in order to function. The Russian zemstvos, Korkunov said, fell far short of what autonomous institutions should be because their institu-

In Russia in the 1880's and 1890's Korkunov hailed bureaucracy as the salvation of the country. Career-oriented civil servants operating to further their own ambitions and the interests of their separate agencies would be the best means to harness the power of an awakening society.⁴⁴ But this was a time when almost everyone in Russia was damning bureaucracy. Radicals of every variety, liberals, reactionaries, the tsars, and the bureaucrats themselves all agreed that bureaucracy was one of the greatest evils in Russian society. Self-interest and "careerism" were generally regarded as sins.⁴⁵ If nothing else, Korkunov's theory testifies to his intellectual independence.

Korkunov's second principle is that the political freedom of the individual is the necessary basis for the state.⁴⁶ But political freedom in an absolutist state can be understood on several levels. Superficially, it is merely an inadvertent by-product of the proper operation of government. If there were no other reason for the existence of individual rights guaranteed by law, they would exist in an absolutist state simply because the government must limit the authority of its own agents in order to control them. By limiting its own operation, the government in effect protects its subjects from arbitrary oppression. To Korkunov, this is simply the *de facto* relationship between state necessity and the individual, but because he said as much he was often called a Positivist and a follower of Auguste Comte.⁴⁷ Comte, unlike Korkunov, saw no effective force in society but state power, and he concluded that there was really no such thing as individual rights under law, but only the state, whose perfect unity was the sole interest of all its subjects and the equivalent of their freedom. Truly free men, Comte said, were those who

tional position lacked a clear definition in the law, and therefore they could not interact effectively with the central ministries. (Korkunov, *Russkoe gosudarstvennoe pravo*, II, 533-37.)

⁴⁴ Korkunov emphasizes the principle of self-interest in government operation in his *Ukaz i zakon*, 188-99, and "Obshchestvennoe znachenie prava," 73-75. His belief in the need for a government organization made up of salaried, trained professionals is expressed in *Russkoe gosudarstvennoe pravo*, I, 388-99. "... it is necessary to appoint men [to the government service] who are compelled to carry out the state laws." (*Ibid.*, 388.) "... the existence of a government office does not depend on the personnel who go to make it up. These can be replaced without disturbing the characteristic and uninterrupted functioning of the office." (*Ibid.*, 389.)

⁴⁵ There is hardly a memoir written by a career civil servant in Imperial Russia that does not somewhere express a detestation of "careerism." (See, e.g., V. I. Gurko, *Features and Figures of the Past*, tr. Lawia Matveev [Stanford, Calif., 1939], 198-202; S. E. Kryzhanovskii, *Vospominaniia* [Memoirs] [Berlin, n.d.], 148.) P. P. Mendeleev, a career bureaucrat who served from 1904 to 1909 in the Chancellery of the Committee of Ministers, is careful to assure his readers that he and his colleagues were not "chinovniki" (bureaucrats) but rather "a closely united caste . . . devoted servitors, proud, esteeming fanatically the responsibilities laid on them." (Second of five MSS notebooks in the Russian Archive, Columbia University, 50.)

⁴⁶ Korkunov, "Obshchestvennoe znachenie prava," 70-75.

⁴⁷ E.g., A. F. Meyendorff, "A Brief Appreciation of P. Stolypin's Tenure of Office," unpublished MSS in the Russian Archive, 3d folder, 5.

abandoned all private interests and devoted themselves wholly to the state.⁴⁸

Korkunov went deeper than Comte. The state, he said, was society's necessity, not its purpose. The roots of the state and its significance lie beyond the political system in society as a whole; therefore government has to concern itself with those forces in society that nourish it. The state's vital interest is to preserve and develop law in order to strengthen and broaden the awareness of dependence among its subjects, for it is their sense of dependence that is the foundation for the state's existence. The state protects political freedom under law not only inadvertently, but necessarily.

Korkunov's discussion of freedom does not stop here. In a few of his writings, the most important of which is a lecture he gave in 1892, "The Social Significance of the Law,"⁴⁹ he expresses the conviction that individual freedom is more than a product of the state and more than its necessity. It is a value in its own right. Social evolution has not produced two separate entities, the state and the individual. Rather, it has produced the modern individual, free and responsible, within whose consciousness reside both his acknowledgment of his dependence on the state and his concept of himself as a morally significant individual. The absolutist state is basically an attribute of the individual consciousness, arising from its citizens' growing awareness that they can cope with the forces around them by the use of reason and that they depend on each other in order to do so. The absolutist state is incomprehensible, insane, historically meaningless, and ultimately without strength unless its subjects conceive of it as necessary to themselves, and only free, responsible individuals can conceive of any necessity beyond their immediate personal concerns. Freedom is the very essence of state power. The state is within men, not men within the state.⁵⁰

Law also resides basically in the individual consciousness. It expresses both the distinction and the interconnection between the concepts of the state and individual identity and is equally vital to both. Law, absolute state power, and the concept of the responsible individual are not opposed to one another; on the contrary, no one of them makes any sense apart from the others. Men growing ever more dependent on one another impose ever-increasing requirements on one another, and it is the experience of recognizing and coping with these requirements that creates in them on the one hand the sense of being free and responsible and on the other the recognition of law and state power. The rise of law and state power is a vital part of

⁴⁸ Auguste Comte, *A General View of Positivism* (Stanford, Calif., n.d.), 64-139, 355-444, esp. 400-402. This work was originally published in 1848.

⁴⁹ Korkunov, "Obshchestvennoe znachenie prava."

⁵⁰ Lev Petrazhitsky has developed this idea in *Law and Morality* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955).

the broadening of the individual's consciousness because this broadening proceeds out of social conflict and in turn produces conflict. Men do not progress toward peace and harmony, but only toward the regulation of their surroundings and the control of themselves. The growth of state power does not destroy law; nor does it destroy the individual. On the contrary, state power cannot grow unless law and the individual's sense of his own freedom continue to develop.⁵¹

When Korkunov says that state power is above legal rules, he is not denying the supremacy of law; rather he is emphasizing the dynamic element in modern legal and ethical systems. To assume that a state may be governed by rules alone is to assume that all citizens agree as to what the rules are, that a state can somehow limit its membership to those who do agree. But the state is by definition universal within its territorial boundaries. Men do not select those with whom they will form legal relationships; their dependence chooses for them. Men who are in fact dependent on one another may not agree on the rules that govern their relationships, and where men cannot agree on the rules, the only possible basis for their legal relationship is an agreement as to who has authority to act and decide. Since there is no state whose members agree perfectly on what the rules are, the sentiments of ethical duty and the consciousness of legal obligation must comprise not only obedience to rules in personal relationships but also a duty to that authority which renders the legal system dynamic. This is especially true in a state such as Korkunov's Russia where the majority of the inhabitants were almost unaware of their dependence and did not live within a legal system. The small minority of nineteenth-century Russians who sensed their mutual dependence found themselves in fact dependent on the peasantry, and this dependence was in no way diminished by the fact that the peasants were not aware of it. Some system of legal relationship was necessary; since it did not take the form of rules, it based itself primarily on authority.

Korkunov says that the free individual is not responsible only to men who are good or rational or who agree on the rules they will follow; he is dependent on men as they really are, and therefore he is responsible to them as they really are. Whoever pretends to take ethical commandments seriously cannot confine his obligations solely to men who act as he believes they should. "Christianity," says Korkunov, "teaches us to love men as living, concrete, individual personalities in all their manifold peculiarities, with all

⁵¹ Korkunov recognized that duty toward the state could call for the overthrow of a particular regime if and when it could no longer exercise the power created by the mutual dependence of its people. (Korkunov, *Ukaz i zakon*, 169-76.) But he would have deplored any suggestion that revolution could somehow free a state from the internal and external necessities of its power.

their virtues and vices, in their greatness and in their vulgarity."⁵² This is precisely the ethical meaning of Korkunov's theory of the state. In order for the commandment "Love thy neighbor" to have any practical meaning it must extend beyond the relations between individuals to include all the exigencies of their living together in society, whatever these may be. The individual who recognizes that his own freedom derives from the freedom of all agrees not only to obey rules but also to support a state power that is superior to rules. Ethical obligation to one's neighbor and the recognition of his legal rights both lead directly to a sense of one's duty toward the state, and it is in this sense of duty that the power of the modern state resides.

Korkunov's theory of the state is his affirmation of freedom. He did not spend his life studying the state out of any nationalistic enthusiasm or worship of power for its own sake. On the contrary, he was determined to look squarely at the uncomfortable reality of bureaucratic organization in the modern state in order to find in the midst of it a basis for individual freedom. In his lecture of 1892 he said:

All that is dear to a man . . . all that touches his heart, all that lends significance and interest to his life . . . all this is not held in common but possessed individually. If all the people around us became indistinct from one another, if all the conditions of our growth were merged into a single pattern without any peculiarities, if time ceased to bring the unexpected, if in a word all individuality were to disappear from life; should there be left to me in all the land no single small corner of my own nor one man dear to me nor one cherished memory of a happy moment, existence would become unbearably formless and senseless. It would cease to be life.⁵³

This is the freedom that Korkunov calls the foundation of state power. It was his most fundamental belief that only free individuals could create and maintain an absolutist state.⁵⁴

It would make a splendid conclusion to say that Korkunov's theory was of great significance in his day, that with Korkunov Imperial Russia came at last to recognize itself and to discover value and purpose in its past achievement and present situation. For more than a century Russian statesmen had gradually been building a government administration and a legal system in a country where most of the population felt only a primitive sense of depend-

⁵² *Id.*, "Obshchestvennoe znachenie prava," 72.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Korkunov's successors remembered him as the ideologue of Alexander III's autocracy. (See, e.g., S. A. Korff, *Russkoe gosudarstvennoe pravo* [Russian State Law] [Moscow, 1915], 12-13.) Korff calls Korkunov the "most characteristic representative of the epoch of the '80's and '90's . . . an ideologue of the autocracy of that period. He rendered no small service to the regime. . . ." (*Ibid.*, 12-13.)

ence beyond their own villages. The statesmen were generally opposed to bureaucracy, believing that what the government needed was honorable servitors, not more regulations.⁵⁵ Those who put their faith in the absolute power of the tsar and those who wished to limit the tsar's power both regarded bureaucratic organization as oppressive. Yet the statesmen found that their actions and programs served only to extend bureaucracy. A sense of futility echoes through many of the memoirs and diaries that the latter-day imperial statesmen have left us.⁵⁶ They felt that they were devoting their lives to the development of a system they hated. Korkunov's theory made sense out of their dilemma and demonstrated the essential soundness of what they were doing. In Korkunov the statesmen of Alexander III and Nicholas II could have found values and purposes that not only suited their experience, but also established them on a historical foundation and gave their activity a meaningful purpose. They were establishing law and political freedom among a socially diverse people by building an effective bureaucracy.

Unfortunately for the splendid conclusion, the available evidence indicates that Korkunov's ideas influenced no one at all outside of a small circle of jurists.⁵⁷ The intelligentsia ignored him entirely.⁵⁸ B. A. Kistiakovskii, a legal scholar, one of the celebrated *Vekhi* group, says that the Russian intelligentsia ignored the whole problem of law, not just Korkunov,⁵⁹ but

⁵⁵ See note 45, above. N. M. Druzhinin, in his *Gosudarstvennye krestiane i reforma P. D. Kiseleva* (2 vols., Moscow, 1946, 1958), II, 83-130, describes Kiselev's constant attempts to find "honorable servitors" to carry out his reforms in the 1830's and 1840's. What he did in fact was to work inadvertently toward the construction of a bureaucratic organization. Druzhinin points out that Kiselev was not himself entirely aware that he was constructing an administrative system. (*Ibid.*, II, 129.) What he does not see, although his own description makes it clear, is that Kiselev was doing it anyway, in so far as it could be done in his day.

⁵⁶ See, e.g., P. A. Valuev, *Dnevnik* [Diary] (2 vols., Moscow, 1961, 1964), introd. by P. A. Zaionchkovskii, I, 7, 19-20; S. I. Shidlovskii, *Vospominaniia* [Memoirs] (2 vols., Berlin, 1923), I, 91; Gurko, *Features*, 30-31.

⁵⁷ His effect on legal scholars is much attested to, although even here there is little concrete evidence. Korff (see note 54, above) claims he left no students who carried on his work. One could argue circumstantially, however, that N. I. Lazarevskii and Lev Petrazhitsky were intellectual heirs of Korkunov. S. A. Kotliarevskii acknowledges his reliance on Korkunov's concepts. (See his *Vlast i pravo* [Authority and Law] [Moscow, 1915], 6-11.) Professor Nicholas S. Timasheff and the late Vladimir Gsovski, both of whom were students of jurisprudence in Imperial Russian universities, have testified to Korkunov's renown among legal scholars. His major works continued to come out in new editions up until World War I. *Russkoe gosudarstvennoe pravo* went through eight editions between 1892 and 1914; *Lektsii po obshchei teorii prava*, eight editions from 1883 to 1908; and *Istoriia filosofii prava*, six editions from 1896 to 1915. The reviewers of these books generally agreed that they were brilliant and significant for Russian legal scholarship, but almost no one accepted Korkunov's theories as such. It is worth mentioning that A. F. Meyendorff once recommended Korkunov's *Lektsii* to P. A. Stolypin when the latter was governor of Grodno, but it is doubtful that Stolypin ever read it. Indeed, Meyendorff did not understand Korkunov very well himself. He called him a follower of Comte. (See note 47, above.)

⁵⁸ A rare commentary on Korkunov by a liberal journalist, the only one of any length that I know of, may be taken as typical of the intelligentsia's attitude toward legal scholarship in general and Korkunov in particular: L. Slonimskii, "Shkolastika pod firmoi nauki" [Scholastics Masquerading as Science], *Vestnik Evropy*, XXVI (Aug. 1891), 715-39.

⁵⁹ B. A. Kistiakovskii, *Sotsialnyi nauki i pravo* [The Social Sciences and Law] (Moscow,

Kistiakovskii himself gives only passing mention to Korkunov.⁶⁰ Perhaps the death notice on Korkunov in the newspaper *Novoe Vremia* provides the best commentary concerning his influence on his own time. It said that his lectures were brilliant, but that it required great learning to follow them, and so they were poorly attended.⁶¹

Soviet legal scholars have been even more inclined to ignore Korkunov in name than were their predecessors, but in fact some of them have borrowed rather heavily from him, wittingly or unwittingly.⁶² Nor is it surprising that Soviet jurists should ultimately follow Korkunov's paths. The evolution of the Soviet state after 1917 and the accompanying general failure of democracy in Eastern and Central Europe can be viewed as remarkable vindications of his theory. The results that have followed upon the collapse of the four absolutist empires in World War I are not yet conclusive evidence of anything, but from the vantage point of the present, Korkunov's ideas seem more applicable to the states of the post-Versailles world than those of his constitutional opponents. Modern Russians who wish to observe reality apart from slogans have before them a much clearer picture of the state and have suffered a much deeper experience with its role in society, especially the relationships between administration and politics, than Korkunov's contemporaries knew.

Prerevolutionary scholars lived out their lives in a small society of advanced city men. They themselves understood the ideals of a modern legal system, but none of them, not even the most perceptive, could bring themselves to look squarely at the larger society of Russia, where most men were not so advanced. Even outstanding commentators on peasant customs like

1916), 620. But Kistiakovskii himself denounces Russian legal scholarship as insignificant for Russian society. (*Ibid.*, 619–20.) Indeed, Kistiakovskii may have been right, although this was not entirely the scholars' fault. The condition of both state and society in late nineteenth-century Russia does not seem to have encouraged a flourishing legal science. The journal, *Iuridicheskaja letopis*, to which Korkunov contributed many articles, was able to exist for only three years, 1890–1892. In its closing issue (Dec. 1892, 347–50), the editor, N. D. Sergeevskii, announced that he required 1,200 subscribers to survive but that he only had 700. He noted with some bitterness that there were only 2 other legal journals in all Russia and that between them they had only 2,500 subscribers; this was in a land where 30,000 were engaged in legal work. It is true that the jurisprudence faculties attracted many students. In 1894 of 15,000 university students in Russia, 5,200 were majoring in jurisprudence, 5,200 in medicine, and 3,000 in the physical sciences. (See *Statesman's Handbook for Russia* [2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1896], II, 229.) But jurisprudence seems to have had the reputation of being the curriculum that the less able student followed in order to get a degree with the least possible difficulty. (See, e.g., S. Iu. Witte, *Vospominaniia* [Memoirs] [3 vols., Berlin, 1923], I, 57–58.)

⁶⁰ Kistiakovskii, *Sotsialnyia nauki i pravo*, 461–68.

⁶¹ *Novoe Vremia*, Nov. 29, 1904.

⁶² Especially Kotliarevskii (see note 57, above), who acknowledged his debt to Korkunov. More recently B. V. Sheindlin has utilized Korkunov's ideas without mentioning his name. (See his *Sushchnost sovetskogo prava* [The Essentials of Soviet Law] [Leningrad, 1959].) For a brief comparison of Sheindlin and Korkunov, see George Yaney, "Some Aspects of the Imperial Russian Government on the Eve of the First World War," *Slavonic and East European Review*, XLIII (Dec. 1964), 88–90.

A. A. Leontev and A. I. Engelgardt never considered the possibility of direct action by the central government to break up the old peasant way of life.⁶³ They could see that the Russian peasantry did not fit well with European assumptions regarding law and society, but when they discussed practical measures, they could not bring themselves to depart from European ideals.

Korkunov himself avoided any discussion of concrete measures. He described the practical problems and dangers facing the Russian state, and his dynamic state theory made the experience of the tsarist government comprehensible as a part of European development, but he never considered the appalling implications of his insights. He saw that the state rested on its people's sense of dependence, but he saw no reason to press his inquiry further to ask what a statesman might actually do to foster an awareness of dependence among the Russian peasants. He saw that in a society without modern legal relationships the government had to introduce and develop a legal system through its own initiative, but he could not describe this action in detail. Above all, he could not foresee the role that mobilized collective hysteria—government by exhortation—would play.⁶⁴ Today, however, Soviet and Western scholars alike are in a better position to give Korkunov's ideas concrete expression and to develop them. The experience of Russia since the time of Korkunov demonstrates not only the value of his insights, but also provides a basis for applying them to practice.

⁶³ See notes 2 and 3, above.

⁶⁴ Korkunov specifically disapproved of government by exhortation. (See *Russko gosudarstvennoe pravo*, I, 63.)

Flirtation with Fascism: American Pragmatic Liberals and Mussolini's Italy

JOHN P. DIGGINS*

This is the day of pragmatism, not dogmatism—of realism, but a realism that can also be rich in spiritual ideals, and I want to go on record at the beginning of this unpretentious book by avowing my faith in Benito Mussolini, Italy's great premier, and Fascism, the child of his marvellous brain, as the highest expression of a pragmatic philosophy of government whose invariable formula is: "Does it work?"—

US Congressman Milford W. Howard¹

IT is a strange irony of history that Mussolini's Fascist dictatorship drew more admiration from democratic America than from any other Western nation. "The historian of the next generation," Harold Laski told Americans in 1923, "cannot fail to be impressed by the different reception accorded to the changes of which Lenin and Mussolini have been the chief authors. Where Lenin's system has won for itself international ostracism and armed intervention, that of Mussolini has been the subject of widespread enthusiasm."² The sources of Mussolini's popularity in this country may be easily explained, at first glance, by the action of peculiar forces in American society. A middle-class, property-conscious nation, confronted by the towering antithetical figures of Lenin and Mussolini, would naturally turn to the charismatic Italian who paraded as the savior of capitalism. A nation of churchgoers, faced with a crisis in moral values, would understandably respond to the image of Mussolini as the redeemer who turned back the tide of materialism and anticlericalism in Italy. And a nationalistic people, reacting to Wilsonian internationalism, could readily applaud Mussolini's scorn for the League of Nations and praise the Fascist virtue of patriotism.³

Considerations of property, religion, and nationalism, however, provide

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¹ Milford W. Howard, *Fascism: A Challenge to Democracy* (New York, 1928), 18-19.

² Harold J. Laski, "Lenin and Mussolini," *Foreign Affairs*, II (Sept. 1923), 52.

³ John P. Diggins, "Mussolini's Italy: The View from America, 1922-1941," doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California, 1964, Chap. 1.

only a partial explanation of Fascism's reception in the United States. When closely examined, the American response to Mussolini and interpretation of his movement reveal an array of antinomies that almost defies ideological analysis. The spectrum of American apologists for Fascism included the countless businessmen who waxed rhapsodic over *Il Duce* as the proper antidote to Bolshevism;⁴ the poet Ezra Pound who wrote paeans to the Italian strong man for crushing the creatures of capitalism and their "usurocratic conspiracy";⁵ the managerial idealists who extolled Mussolini as the ideal industrial executive who "cuts through" and gets things done;⁶ the "Southern Agrarian" Stark Young who romanticized Mussolini's regime as a noble effort to preserve historic Italy from the evils of modern technology and the efficiency ethic;⁷ the philosopher George Santayana who interpreted the Fascist principle of *gerarchia* as an expression of his own vision of a social hierarchy based on order, inequality, and aristocracy;⁸ and the philosopher Giuseppe Prezzolini who saw the Black Shirts carrying forward the egalitarian class struggle under the radical banner of a "nationalist socialism."⁹ Mussolini and Fascism, in a word, could be many things to many men. To the "New Humanist" Irving Babbitt, Mussolini restored the disciplining "doctrines of the right man for the doctrine of the rights of man";¹⁰ to the novelist Kenneth Roberts, Fascism offered the violent revolutionary answer to the decadence of middle-class liberalism;¹¹ to the Marxist *New Masses*, Fascism was the death rattle of a senescent capitalist system;¹² to the ultra-conservative *American Review*, Fascism provided the last best hope for a return to the "enlightened" era of medieval traditionalism.¹³

The variety of interpretations reflected not only the diverse perspectives of American thought but also the amorphous nature of early Fascism itself,

⁴ E.g., "Why Mussolini Charms the American Businessman," *Literary Digest*, LXXVII (June 9, 1923), 72-74; on the shifting perspectives of business opinion, see Diggins, "Mussolini's Italy," Chap. III.

⁵ Ezra Pound, *Jefferson and/or Mussolini* (London, 1935), and *Money Pamphlets: America, Roosevelt and the Causes of the Present War*, tr. Carmine Amore (London, 1951).

⁶ *Nation's Business*, XV (Dec. 1927), 20-22.

⁷ Stark Young, "Notes on Fascism in Italy Today," *New Republic*, LXVII (July 22, 29, Aug. 5, 1931), 258-60, 281-83, 312-14.

⁸ George Santayana, "Apologia Pro Mente Sua," in *The Philosophy of George Santayana*, ed. Paul A. Schilpp (Chicago, 1940), 497-605; regarding Santayana's disillusionment with the "adventurer" Mussolini, see *The Letters of George Santayana*, ed. Daniel Cory (New York, 1955), 405.

⁹ Giuseppe Prezzolini, "Fascisti and the Class Struggle," *New Republic*, XXXII (Nov. 1, 1922), 242-44, "Mussolini's First Year," *ibid.*, XXXVI (Oct. 31, 1923), 25-26.

¹⁰ Irving Babbitt, *Democracy and Leadership* (Boston, 1924), 246, 313.

¹¹ Kenneth Roberts, *Black Magic* (Indianapolis, 1922).

¹² *New Masses*, V (Apr. 1930), 4; see also editor Mike Gold's reply to Ezra Pound, *ibid.* (Oct. 1930), 3-5.

¹³ E.g., Harold Goad, "The Corporate State," *American Review*, I (Apr. 1933), 80-93.

a movement that was, as H. Stuart Hughes observed, "the first great political surprise" of our century.¹⁴ Emerging as a novel social theory, the hazy and synthetic doctrines of Fascism enabled Mussolini to exploit the ambiguity of his movement and present to Americans a many-sided image. Of all the images he enjoyed in America, the one that received greatest attention from intellectuals was his pose as the practicing pragmatic statesman. That the dictator could claim the philosophy of William James and John Dewey to justify authoritarian reaction only emphasizes the essential ambiguity that characterized the early Fascist movement. More importantly, since the principles of pragmatism constituted a major force in the shaping of modern American liberalism, this essay focuses on the reactions of liberals, particularly pragmatic liberals, to the rise of Italian Fascism.

Looking back, the novelist Robert Penn Warren, who completed his fictional study of American demagoguery and Fascism while in Rome during the thirties, recalled that behind the reaction in Mussolini's Italy and in Huey Long's Louisiana lay the long shadow of the "scholarly and benign figure of William James."¹⁵ Unfortunately, the notion that the brilliant pioneer of pragmatic thought influenced Fascism was widely entertained in the twenties. This native American philosophy, it is true, found a brief following among Italian intellectuals at the turn of the century, but pragmatism proved incompatible with the transcendental idealism of Giovanni Papini, Benedetto Croce, Giovanni Gentile, and other influential thinkers.¹⁶ Still, the propaganda potential contained in this Italo-American cultural tie could not be ignored by champions of reaction seeking democratic respectability to give an aura of doctrinal legitimacy to the Fascist government. Hence, whenever Mussolini spoke to Americans about his intellectual development he frequently cited James as one of his principal mentors. The influence of James was more apparent than real. When the pragmatist Horace Kallen questioned the Premier about James's philosophy, Mussolini could make only vague references to titles of books, and Kallen came away from the interview convinced that the dictator was more interested in the philosopher's reputation than in his ideas.¹⁷

Nevertheless, the pragmatic posture of the Italian statesman elicited enthusiastic acclaim from a number of American students of politics who re-

¹⁴ H. Stuart Hughes, *Contemporary Europe* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1961), 215.

¹⁵ Robert Penn Warren, *All the King's Men* (New York, 1953), vi, and "All the King's Men: Matrix of Experience," *Yale Review*, LIII (Winter 1964), 161-67.

¹⁶ Giovanni Gullace, "The Pragmatist Movement in Italy," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XXIII (Jan.-Mar. 1962), 91-105.

¹⁷ Horace Kallen, "Fascism: For the Italians," *New Republic*, XLIX (Jan. 12, 1927), 211, and "Mussolini, William James, and the Rationalists," *Social Frontier*, IV (May 1938), 253-56.

garded Mussolini as something of a Jamesian philosopher-king. William K. Stewart of Dartmouth College, for example, became convinced, after studying Fascism's philosophical origins, that the Italian Premier operated as a wise improviser in "a world with the lid off," as James had termed the world of flux and change. The Italian "Battle of the Grain" program, said Stewart, was the clearest example of James's "Moral Equivalent of War" principle, an "equivalent discipline" for the energetic Fascist state.¹⁸ Phillip Marshall Brown, professor of international law at Princeton University, maintained that, unlike Marxism and other "preconceived" a priori theories, Fascism had its basis in "experience," and "its philosophy is pragmatism; its sole guiding principle is that working principles are to be discovered in actual practice."¹⁹ Some scholars saw Fascism as the natural reintegrating response to the centrifugal effects of democratic pluralism;²⁰ others admired Mussolini for repudiating the sterile ideas of the past and formulating a "scientific" philosophy suitable to the contingencies of an irrational world.²¹ In a provocative article in *Harper's*, Lothrop Stoddard advised Americans that the tough-mindedness of Fascist thought presented "the great intellectual challenge of the age," which laid bare the rigid determinism of Marxism and the shallow formalism of democracy, permitting both experimentation with "hard-headed practicality" and manipulation of myths (such as nationalism) to give free play to the moving power of beliefs discovered by James and Georges Sorel.²²

Mass democracy, the pragmatic defense of Fascism suggested, was questionable; universal democracy was unworkable. It is perhaps not surprising that a conservative nativist like Stoddard would reach such a conclusion. That a small but highly significant number of liberals reached the same conclusion represented a reorientation of the progressive's democratic convictions, a reorientation that was part of a larger intellectual malaise characteristic of the postwar period. The failure of Wilsonianism and the demise of progressivism led to a cold re-examination of the uneasy assumptions of liberal thought regarding the rationality and goodness of man, the certainty of moral values and political standards, and the inevitability of human

¹⁸ William K. Stewart, "The Mentors of Mussolini," *American Political Science Review*, XXII (Nov. 1928), 843-69.

¹⁹ Phillip Marshall Brown, "The Utility of Fascism," *Current History*, XXXIV (May 1931), 161-64.

²⁰ W. B. Munro, "The Pendulum of Politics," *Harper's*, CLIV (May 1927), 718-25.

²¹ This view was expounded by Italian writers; see, for example, Corrado Gini's positivistic interpretation, "The Scientific Basis of Fascism," *Political Science Quarterly*, XLII (June 1927), 99-115.

²² Lothrop Stoddard, "Realism: The True Challenge of Fascism," *Harper's*, CLV (Oct. 1927), 578-83.

progress and world democracy.²³ During the twenties progressives like Walter Weyl and Harold Stearns concluded that the idea of democracy was indeed moribund, Walter Lippmann questioned the wisdom of majority rule and the intelligence of the mass public, and John Chamberlain abandoned the whole democratic dream.²⁴ Those on the far Left, armed with the Marxist critique of bourgeois democracy, declared that the bankruptcy of liberalism left them with, in the words of Max Eastman, "this inexorable alternative—Lenin or Mussolini."²⁵ Attacked from both Left and Right, progressives found themselves without a vigorous intellectual defense. For them faith in democracy had been eroded by the rude facts of history, and the philosophical rationale of the "vital center"—pragmatism—now offered liberals little more than methodology and a set of preferences based on faith in human intelligence.²⁶ While Communists and Fascists tried to rush into this ideological vacuum, both claiming the infallibility of science, Croce attempted to reassure Americans that liberalism was still a vital force and that Fascism was merely "transitory and provisory."²⁷

Few Americans could share Croce's faith in the inevitable triumph of liberty. For the generation of the twenties, Mussolini appeared to many as the harbinger of a new political movement, one that rejected the tired dogmas of democracy and the paralyzing principles of liberalism. Nowhere is this point of view better illustrated than in the reaction of Lincoln Steffens to the advent of Fascism.

A leading fighter for democratic reform in the progressive era, Steffens came to regard Mussolini as one of the few men who emerged from the war enlightened by realism rather than betrayed by idealism. Interviewing Mussolini at the Lausanne Conference, Steffens was stunned when the statesman turned on him and "shot that searching question into me." Had not the innocent American liberals learned anything in the war, *Il Duce* contemptuously asked. "God's question to man, that!" Steffens reflected, pondering the plight of liberals who refused to learn from experience ("the conscience of history") and remained bound by the "dead logic" of their own preconceptions. Legalism, constitutions, and parliaments were only sham institutions

²³ Henry F. May, *The End of American Innocence: A Study of the First Years of Our Own Time, 1912-1917* (New York, 1959).

²⁴ Walter Weyl, *Tired Radicals* (New York, 1920); Harold Stearns, *Liberalism in America* (New York, 1919); Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York, 1922); John Chamberlain, *Farewell to Reform* (New York, 1932).

²⁵ Max Eastman, "Political Liberty," in *Freedom in the Modern World*, ed. Horace Kallen (New York, 1928), 159-82.

²⁶ Morton White, *Social Thought in America: The Revolt against Formalism* (New York, 1957), Chap. xii.

²⁷ Benedetto Croce, "Has Liberalism a Future?" *New Republic*, XLII (Apr. 29, 1925), 256-58.

controlled by "petty persons with petty purposes." Mussolini, like Albert Einstein, succeeded because he challenged ancient axioms. The leaders of the Bolsheviks and the Fascists were men of action whose "Russian-Italian method" forced Steffens to ask himself: "Is not the whole moral basis of liberalism and [democratic] political action unscientific?" Is not liberty a psychological matter, "a measure of our sense of security," a state of mind that can be realized only when new economic arrangements abolish fear? Although Steffens confessed he had no clear answer to his own question, he remained fascinated by the empirical technique of Fascism and believed that Mussolini's charismatic dictatorship of the Right could lead to a new realistic path to the goals of the Left.²⁸

Former muckrakers like S. S. McClure and Ida Tarbell also returned from Italy singing praises of the dynamic statesman who, like Theodore Roosevelt, revitalized his country with an outburst of strenuous idealism.²⁹ Many reporters, of course, fell prey to the blandishments of Fascist officials and to the charm of their leader (a "despot with a dimple," sighed Tarbell). But serious scholars in this country were interested in the experimental features of the corporate state. During the twenties traditional economic ideas and institutions were subjected to a searching revaluation, and, significantly enough, the announcement of the theory of corporatism came at a time when American intellectuals themselves were groping toward a positive reconstruction of society.³⁰ Whether this reconstruction would lead to controlled currency, economic institutionalism, or scientific management, the answer, liberals were convinced, could be found neither in economic individualism nor in Marxist socialism. The historic bourgeois liberal state appeared too factional and artificial and only masked the real sources of economic power. Under our capitalist democracy, Oswald Garrison Villard stated in 1925, power continued to "elude the people."³¹ This was also the case in the socialist state where, as events in Russia demonstrated, repressive political power simply replaced oppressive economic power. Searching for a new experiment that would avoid acquisitive individualism and socialist regimentation, a number of pragmatic liberals revived their prewar discus-

²⁸ *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens* (2 vols., New York, 1931), II, 812-20, and "Stop, Look, Listen," *Survey*, LVII (Mar. 1, 1927), 735-37; with the coming of the depression and Nazism, Steffens repudiated Fascism. (*Letters of Lincoln Steffens*, ed. Ella Winter and Granville Hicks [2 vols., New York, 1938], II, 648, 750-51, 938.)

²⁹ *New York Times*, Jan. 26, 1927, Mar. 12, 1928; Ida Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work* (New York, 1939), 380-84.

³⁰ The liberals' desire to reconstruct society on the basis of some principle that would unify institutions and classes was stated persuasively by T. V. Smith in his popular work *The Democratic Way of Life* (New York, 1927).

³¹ Oswald Garrison Villard, "Facing Our World," *Nation*, CXXI (Sept. 2, 1925), 248.

sion of the virtues of Graham Wallas' and G. D. H. Cole's syndicalism and guild socialism.³² When the theory of corporatism was first proclaimed in 1926 it appeared that the Italian system integrated the best of these British ideas into its plans for a workers' confederation, achieving a more genuine representation than that offered by any contemporary government. It is no coincidence that in the years 1926-1928 Italian Fascism commanded more attention from American intellectuals. A system based upon the guiding influence of a paternal state, a system that brought to the surface the subterranean struggles of classes and interest groups and harmonized these forces in official institutions, struck a positive note in the minds of those political thinkers tired of the old formulas and fictions of progressivism. The philosopher Herbert W. Schneider's study of Italy in 1928 and the historian Charles Beard's response to this study best reflected this attitude.

Schneider had been sent to Italy by Charles E. Merriam of the National Social Science Research Council in order to investigate more closely the unprecedented political movement. Concerned primarily with the theory underlying corporatism and with the syndicalist aspirations of Edmondo Rossoni, Schneider was greatly impressed by this new "institutional synthesis" which allowed Italy to coordinate private interests in the service of higher "national interests," thereby realizing a "conscious, intelligent ordering of society." Because Schneider regarded the Lockian concept of a contractual, atomistic government as unreal and impractical, and because he maintained that only economic interests and not individual citizens could be truly represented in any government, he dismissed the Fascist struggle with parliament as "a mere stage play" and praised the regime for penetrating the ineffective fictions of formal democracy.³³

When Schneider returned from Italy in 1928 Beard enthusiastically questioned him about his research.³⁴ Like the philosopher, the historian was undisturbed by the antidemocratic nature of Fascism and pointed out that the ancient Greeks and the "fathers of the American Republic, notably Hamilton, Madison, and John Adams, were as voluminous and vehement [in opposing democracy] as any Fascist could desire." Untroubled by the excessive nationalism of the Fascists, he likened Mussolini's nervous energy to the "American gospel of action, action, action," preached and practiced by Theodore Roosevelt. But instead of focusing on these activist aspects, Beard

³² Joseph Dorfman, *Economic Mind in American Civilization* (5 vols., New York, 1946-59), IV, 184-86.

³³ Herbert W. Schneider, *Making the Fascist State* (New York, 1928), *Italy Incorporated* (New York, 1928), "Italy's New Syndicalist Constitution," *Political Science Quarterly*, XLII (June 1927), 161-202.

³⁴ Interview with Schneider, Aug. 25, 1964.

suggested that Americans turn their attention to the "original feature of Fascism," to the philosophy of corporatism with its elaborate schemes for council functions and occupational representation. It was through this instrument that Italy alone had "brought about by force of the State the most compact and unified organization of capitalists and laborers into two camps which the world has ever seen." Although Beard admitted that capital enjoyed advantages over labor in Italy, and although he regarded Mussolini as an impetuous adventurer who might resort to war rather than face up to domestic problems, he believed that through "patience and technical competence" Italy could modernize itself by relying on the practical wisdom of corporatism and class collaboration. Viewing Italy as something akin to a political laboratory, he called upon American liberals to take a broader look at the regime.

This is far from the frozen dictatorship of the Russian Tsardom; it is more like the American check and balance system; and it may work out in a new democratic direction. . . . Beyond question, an amazing experiment is being made here, an experiment in reconciling individualism and socialism, politics and technology. It would be a mistake to allow feelings aroused by contemplating the harsh deeds and extravagant assertions that have accompanied the Fascist process (as all other immense historical changes) to obscure the potentialities and the lessons of the adventure—no, not adventure, but destiny riding without any saddle and bridle across the historic peninsula that bridges the world of antiquity and our modern world.³⁵

Schneider and Beard found Fascist corporatism an enlightened economic theory, the former because it appeared a coherent system of national planning that transcended classes and class interests, the latter because it recalled a modern Madisonian expression of the equilibrium of contending social forces. Other liberals looked favorably on Fascism for different reasons. One of the few American liberals who had firsthand experience in Italy was Horace Kallen, a student of James and a professor of social philosophy. After traveling throughout Europe in 1926 he returned to address American intellectuals on the myths and realities of the "new" Italy. Kallen's defense of the regime appeared in the *New Republic*, where he admitted that the ruthless militarism and the "paranoid magniloquence" contained in Fascism made it a movement liberals would find difficult to accept. But these repelling aspects, the philosopher cautioned, should not shroud the substantial accomplishments in economic, educational, and administrative reform. Living in Italy, he advised, made one realize there could be "intolerance of lib-

³⁵ Charles Beard, "Making the Fascist State," *New Republic*, LVII (Jan. 23, 1929), 277-78.

eralism also." Fascism, a theory that, in contrast to socialism, stressed "human differences" and reinvigorated the spirit of nationalism and of the *Risorgimento*, was the proper philosophy for the peculiar history, needs, and psychology of the Italian people. Liberals should therefore suspend judgment until the full-grown tree of the new theory bore the fruit of social justice or the seeds of oppressive reaction. "In this respect," concluded Kallen, "the Fascist revolution is not unlike the Communist revolution. Each is the application by force majeure of an ideology to a condition. Each should have the freest opportunity once it has made a start, of demonstrating whether it be an exploitation of men by a special interest or a fruitful endeavor after the good life."³⁶

Kallen's plea for patience won the backing of the *New Republic*. In an editorial the liberal journal provided a supporting preface to Kallen's arguments by elaborating further on the need to give Fascism a sympathetic hearing. In view of the bleak record of Italy's parliamentary government from 1871 to 1921, advised the editorial, it was a "great mistake" to judge harshly and narrowly the recent regime. One could not measure the political actions of another country by one's own standards and values. Fascism had given the Italians a sense of unity and direction, a national self-consciousness that awakened the country's potential. The militarism of the Fascists should not alarm us, for their boastfulness was nothing more than a "virile and somewhat pathetic attempt to compensate for the absence of such power." Seen in the light not only of the "weary centuries" of Italy's past but of the general instability of contemporary European governments, the promising Fascist venture, however costly it may have proved, could not be any worse than sinking back into the "stagnation" and "cheap corruption" of traditional parliamentary politics.³⁷

The apologetics of the *New Republic* revealed the ambivalence of pragmatic liberalism as well as the ambiguous appeal of Fascism itself. Although the liberals' support of the movement was, as we shall see, brief and confined to a small minority, the approval of this group of thinkers could not be understood apart from the tenets of pragmatic philosophy, tenets that provided both the strengths and weaknesses in this rich vein of American social thought. For Fascism appealed, first of all, to the pragmatic ethos of experimentation. It held out a new possibility for integrating man with his technological environment. If the system called for sacrificing temporarily certain liberties, through collective effort and organized intelligence the Ital-

³⁶ Kallen, "Fascism," 211-13.

³⁷ "An Apology for Fascism," *New Republic*, XLIX (Jan. 12, 1927), 207-209.

ians could learn from this educational experience. And just as each individual must learn from experience, the Italians themselves could best judge the results of the regime. Exactly how the people would render this judgment, with their political parties destroyed and civil liberties crushed, the *New Republic* did not say. The fruits of Fascism, liberals were told, could and must be submitted to "measurement." The Fascists attempted to promote "national cohesion and national welfare," and the "conscience of the Italian people will insist on appraising the result. Thus, willy-nilly, Fascism is an experiment. . . . If the Italian people are capable of political self-education, they will preserve that part of the program which is useful to them and discard that which is not."³⁸

No less important in the Fascist appeal to liberals was the apparent non-doctrinaire character of the Mussolini government. The Italian philosopher Papini was fond of saying that pragmatism was a method of doing without a philosophy. It might also be said that to some American liberals Fascism was a method of doing without an ideology. Beard, for example, was pleased to find Fascism open and flexible and unencumbered by any "consistent scheme."³⁹ Unlike socialism, Fascism recognized that the road to reform was relative. When the political scholar Robert MacIver asked the *New Republic* how it could profess to be an "exponent of liberal principles" and at the same time support a dictatorship, and why suppression was so necessary in Italy if Fascism meant, as the *New Republic* claimed, "mastery and self-control,"⁴⁰ the journal replied that the traditional "formulas" of liberalism were inadequate to appraise developments either in Italy or in Russia. Comparing the deep-rooted particularism of the Italian Peninsula to the sectionalism that brought on the American Civil War, the *New Republic* argued that just as the North had had to resort to force and bloodshed to save the Union and end slavery so too did the Fascists have to use similar methods to end the strife and disunity that plagued postwar Italy. Moreover, because of the "collective irresponsibility" of the Italian Left, which failed to rally to the defense of the state as had the French parliamentarians in the Dreyfus affair, the old statesmen surrendered by default their right to lead the nation. Thus, although the *New Republic* did not approve of the suppression of liberty in Italy, it found itself unable to pass judgment since it had not (as MacIver claimed) set itself up as an "exponent" of such vacuous and abstract categories as "liberal principles." "Liberalism, as we understand it," reminded the editorial, "is an activity. It is an effort to emancipate human life by means

³⁸ "Liberalism vs. Fascism," *ibid.*, L (Mar. 2, 1927), 35.

³⁹ Beard, "Making the Fascist State," 277.

⁴⁰ Robert MacIver, letter to editor, *New Republic*, L (Mar. 2, 1927), 47.

of the discovery and the realization of truth. But truth emerges as a function of individual and corporate life, and it needs for its vindication the subordination of principles to method."⁴¹ So conceived, liberalism shared with Fascism a common scorn for definite systems and fixed theories. Fascism, like liberalism, appeared to be a continuous creative effort that found its affirmation in the subordination of ends to means. In its attempt to strike a balance between the dogmas of capitalism and socialism, moreover, Fascism avoided doctrinal myopia. Rejecting the fetishes of both the Left and Right, it presented an admirable alternative to an ironclad ideology on the one hand and a tenaciously shallow sentimentalism on the other. This sailing without an ideological ballast was politically dangerous, the *New Republic* admitted, but it was also intellectually adventurous.

As an exciting adventure, however, Fascism offered more than a repudiation of ideology and a case study of scientific politics and social engineering. The editor of the *New Republic* had long insisted that reform must be more than a matter of empirical method.⁴² If liberalism were to have any deeper personal meaning, Herbert Croly insisted in 1922, it must transcend technology and achieve a spiritual reconstruction of society.⁴³ Five years later, when Croly was coming to grips with Fascism, the *New Republic* was defining liberalism in terms of "self-knowledge" and "self-liberation."⁴⁴ More than social justice, liberalism should work toward a religious regeneration that could not be realized through the traditional efforts of reformers, "who attempt to redeem human nature without asking human beings to participate in their own redemption." The Fascist counterpart of the "Socratic Liberalism" of the *New Republic* was the *élan* of Italian nationalism, which Croly believed would enable the Italians to master themselves through a renewal of moral vision. "Alien critics should beware," liberals were thus warned, "of outlawing a political experiment which aroused in a whole nation an increased moral energy and dignified its activities by subordinating them to a deeply felt common purpose."⁴⁵ The *New Republic* could not help but admire an original philosophy that broke through the husk to reach the

⁴¹ "Liberalism vs. Fascism," 36.

⁴² There can be no question that the editorials on Fascism were the work of Herbert Croly alone. Bruce Bliven, who succeeded Croly as editor in 1929, writes: "These editorials were, I am sure, all the work of Herbert Croly. . . . While he was editor of the paper, he would always listen to arguments by other members of the staff in opposition to his own views . . . but when he felt something strongly, he insisted on expressing it as the editorial view." (Letter from Bliven to me, Mar. 10, 1965.)

⁴³ E.g., Herbert Croly, "Reconstruction of Religion," *New Republic*, XXXI (June 21, 1922), 100-102.

⁴⁴ *Id.*, "Realistic Liberalism," *ibid.*, LIII (Nov. 23, 1927), 5-7, and "Socratic Liberalism," *ibid.* (Dec. 28, 1927), 155-57.

⁴⁵ "Apology for Fascism," 208-209.

human heart, that claimed to present a new political "science" freed of false emotions yet emotional enough to move a nation of people, that displayed to the world a hopeful example of rational class reconciliation and high national purpose.

Fascism's appeal to liberals, then, was found in its experimental nature, antidogmatic temper, and moral *élan*. Their friendly interest, most pronounced in the years 1926-1928, may be best described as a positive but cautious curiosity, one riddled with doubt about the use of violence and the "moonshine" pretensions of Fascist aspirations.⁴⁶ As the decade drew to a close, the freshness of Fascism waned and the *New Republic* grew wary of the Italian government, commenting critically on the increasing "archaic imperialism" of Mussolini, his "perilous" attempt at autarchy, and his sustained suppression of liberty.⁴⁷ Ultimately, however, it was not only the unfulfilled promises of the regime but the death of Croly in 1929, the impact of the depression shortly afterward, and the immigration of Italian *fuorusciti* that brought a complete repudiation of Fascism. Croly's death meant the passing from the *New Republic* of his brand of liberalism, and as his successor, Bruce Bliven, recalls, liberals learned about Italy from Giuseppe Borgese, Max Ascoli, Count Sforza, and other exiles who began to arrive in the United States in increasing numbers in the late twenties.⁴⁸ The depression, in addition, caused a profound shift in liberal thinking about both capitalism and corporatism. Under the spell of Marxist prophecy, some pragmatic liberals tended to reinterpret Fascism as the decadent response of a historically condemned system. The belated repudiation of Fascism was, therefore, also a rejection of the very middle-of-the-road policy of managed capitalism that seemed so attractive in the 1920's. Liberals like Kallen traveled to Russia and admired the Soviet Five-Year Plans.⁴⁹ By 1930 the courtship with corporatism had ended; the romance with collectivism had begun.

In the critical years of the depression the New Deal and corporatism alike came in for the same criticism, for both systems failed to destroy the capitalist order. Some liberals assailed the trial-and-error approach of the Roosevelt program because it was too experimental and lacked a systematic hypothesis.⁵⁰ Not only did the New Deal lack theoretical direction; it came

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 207-208.

⁴⁷ *New Republic*, LI (June 6, 1927), 56; *ibid.*, LII (Aug. 24, 1927), 82; *ibid.*, LIII (Nov. 23, 1927), 2; *ibid.*, LIV (Apr. 11, 1928), 232. Kallen's support was similarly short lived. (See his "Arts under a Dictatorship," *Saturday Review of Literature*, V [Dec. 29, 1928], 549-51.)

⁴⁸ Letter from Bliven to me, Mar. 10, 1965.

⁴⁹ Lewis S. Feuer, "Travelers to the Soviet Union: The Formation of a Component of New Deal Ideology," *American Quarterly*, XIV (Summer 1962), 119-42.

⁵⁰ John Dewey, *Liberalism and Social Action* (New York, 1935), 87-93.

to be regarded as a futile attempt at corporatism itself, an attempt that stopped short of fundamental social reform and perpetuated the "contradictions of capitalism" that led to domestic fascism.⁵¹ It is indeed ironic that liberals now leveled the charge of creeping corporatism at the New Deal, only to be answered by businessmen, journalists, engineers, economists, and managerialists, all of whom defended the corporate state and the National Recovery Administration as marvelous attempts at bold experimentation and orderly planning.⁵² The rhetoric of the liberal "Apology for Fascism" of 1927 was no longer to be found in the pages of the *New Republic* but in the editorials of *Fortune* magazine which in 1934 devoted an entire edition to the corporate state.⁵³ It may also be suggested that the liberals' rejection in the 1930's of both the New Deal and Italian corporatism constituted an abandonment of the pragmatic temper on which their "Apology" had been based, a surrender of experimentalism to an ideology that had, in the name of determinism, declared all-out war on property.

In his recent study of the intellectual sources of the New Deal, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., stated, in reference to the "ideology of social regeneration" and "national planning," that "this native progressivism opposed fascism and communism as brutal and false."⁵⁴ While this statement is doubtless true for the 1930's when the rise of Hitler gave Fascism a demonic image, it overlooks the different tendencies of liberalism in the 1920's, inner tendencies that explain why some liberals were taken in by Italian Fascism and why others, the great majority, were not. In this connection the contrasting reactions of the *New Republic* and of the *Nation* must be considered as reflections of contrasting liberal temperaments. The *New Republic* represented the twentieth-century pragmatic strain of progressivism, the *Nation* the nineteenth-century liberal strain. The difference between these two liberal currents was, among other things, the difference between a relativistic approach to reform on the one hand and a traditional faith in the standard democratic road to social justice on the other, the difference between the empiricism of social engineering and the humanitarianism of "good hope."

⁵¹ George Soule, *The Coming American Revolution* (New York, 1934), 292-94; Stuart Chase, *A New Deal* (New York, 1932), 154-55; Reinhold Niebuhr, *Reflections on the End of an Era* (New York, 1934); see also the defense of the New Deal by Gilbert H. Montague, "Is NRA Fascistic?" *Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CLXXX (July 1935), 149-61.

⁵² William Welk, "Fascist Economic Policy and the NRA," *Foreign Affairs*, XII (Oct. 1933), 98-109; Charles W. Wright, "Capital and Labor under Fascism in Italy," *Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CLXXIV (July 1934), 166-72; *New York Times*, Dec. 27, 1934.

⁵³ *Fortune*, X (July 1934).

⁵⁴ Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "Sources of the New Deal," in *Paths of American Thought*, ed. *id.* and Morton White (Boston, 1962), 381.

Thus it was the *Nation* that attacked with ringing moral certitudes the Americans who doubted the wisdom of mass rule and glorified the efficacy of the corporate state. There can be no sacrifice of democracy to efficiency, Villard warned the New York *Herald Tribune*, one of the many American papers that had warm praise for Mussolini. "The broader the base of government, the surer its results. Democracy works poorly enough, but there is no substitute for it."⁵⁵ The *Nation's* surviving democratic idealism clearly rendered it better prepared to answer the rise of totalitarianism. But equally important was the *Nation's* attitude toward nationalism. Where the *Nation* had been, even during the war years, vigorously antinationalist, the *New Republic* had looked to nationalism as the driving reform stimulus. In the twenties Croly's faith in nationalism, although chastened by the war, was as unyielding as Villard's faith in formal democracy. The *New Republic* could therefore maintain that "the only way for the Italians to cultivate the sense of unity and common responsibility which is indispensable to self-government is to allow the Fascist doctrine to vaccinate them with a powerful patriotic virus."⁵⁶ To the *Nation* this sort of reasoning smacked of reaction, for odious nationalism and shallow patriotism Villard saw as the enemies of liberalism everywhere. The American counterpart of the Fascists, said the *Nation*, was the Ku Klux Klan. In the name of order, efficiency, and patriotism, Mussolini and Miklós von Horthy, Hitler and Erich Ludendorff, Attorney General A. M. Palmer and the Klan had all attempted to crush democracy by a program of flag-waving fanaticism.⁵⁷ Aside from the pragmatic "methodolatry" of the *New Republic* and the liberal idealism of the *Nation*, it was these differing attitudes toward nationalism that caused the former to regard lightly Mussolini's militarism, to see psychological utility in Fascist slogans, and to admire the cohesive features of corporate theory, while the latter took seriously Mussolini's menacing gestures, looked upon Fascist slogans as cruel lies, and perceived corporatism as mere window dressing that cloaked the interests of unregenerate capitalists.

Croly's lifelong dream of a "New Nationalism," first envisioned in 1912, contained disturbing overtones of authoritarian corporatism.⁵⁸ This passionate quest played no small part in Croly's seeing Fascism (as did Croce before 1925) as a temporary stage through which Italy must pass in order to reach a higher level of political consciousness. Partly as a result, the *New Republic*

⁵⁵ Oswald Garrison Villard, "Mussolini and the Klan," *Nation*, CXIX (July 2, 1924), 5.

⁵⁶ "Apology for Fascism," 208.

⁵⁷ Villard, "Mussolini and the Klan," 5.

⁵⁸ Regarding the charge that Croly's early social philosophy presaged "totalitarian nationalism," see the critique of this argument by Charles B. Forcey, *Crossroads of Liberalism: Croly, Weyl, Lippmann and the Progressive Era* (New York, 1961), 36-41.

remained more susceptible to a social movement that called for individual sacrifice and national discipline, hardheaded elitism and egalitarian enthusiasm. Although the *New Republic* objected to Mussolini's arbitrary acts, and although its anti-Fascist contributors outnumbered the defenders of *Il Duce*, it was the *Nation* that attacked Italian reaction from the very beginning. The blistering editorials by Villard and the scathing articles by Carleton Beals, Louis Adamic, James Murphy, and Marcus Duffield all pointed to one conclusion: Mussolini and Fascism meant imperialism and war. When Giacomo Matteotti was murdered, the *Nation* printed the "Filippelli Memorial," a document smuggled out of Italy that implicated high officials of the Fascist government, including Mussolini himself, in the death of the socialist deputy.⁵⁹ No moral condemnation of the murder appeared in the *New Republic*.

The *Nation*, of course, was not the only source of liberal opposition to Fascism in the twenties. The American Civil Liberties Union lent its services to Italian refugees, to immigrants terrorized by the Fascist League of North America, and to Italo-American anti-Fascist publishers harassed by the State Department (acting on the advice of the Italian ambassador).⁶⁰ Clarence Darrow and Robert Morss Lovett won acquittals for two anti-Fascists accused of murdering an Italo-American Black Shirt.⁶¹ Trade-unions took strong stands against the dictatorship; the Italian Chamber of Labor organized in 1923 the American Anti-Fascist Alliance of North America.⁶² The academic community absorbed several exile professors and often made its campuses available for forums conducted by Mussolini's enemies.⁶³ But of greater significance is the fact that even among the majority of pragmatic

⁵⁹ "Who Killed Matteotti?" *Nation*, CXX (Apr. 8, 1925), 392-95.

⁶⁰ On the activities of the Fascists in the United States, see Diggins, "Mussolini's Italy," 43-90, 271-77, 332-37; *Lega Fascisti del Nord America* (New York, 1928), pamphlet, Hoover Library, Stanford, Calif.; *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States*, US Congress, House, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, *Hearings* (11 vols., Washington, D. C., 1938-44), 75 Cong., 3 sess. (1938), II, esp. 1181-84; Alan Cassels, "Fascism for Export: Italy and the United States in the Twenties," *American Historical Review*, LXIX (Apr. 1964), 707-12. The Italian Foreign Office made every attempt (and succeeded at least once) to persuade the US State Department to instigate legal action to suppress the papers of such anti-Fascists as Carlo Tresca (*Il Martello*), Franco Ballanca (*Il Nuovo Mondo*), and Girolamo Valenti (*La Stampa Libera*). (See the "World War II Collection of Seized Enemy Records, Group 242," container 430, 016053-016143, of the captured Italian documents on microfilm in the National Archives; and *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1927* [3 vols., Washington, D. C., 1942], III, 129-31.)

⁶¹ Aldo Garosci, *Storia dei fuoruscito* (Bari, 1953), 269-70; Robert Morss Lovett, *All Our Years* (New York, 1948), 190-92.

⁶² *New York Times*, Apr. 11, 19, 1923.

⁶³ A notable exception was Columbia University's Italian department and its Casa Italiana which published the *Italy-American Monthly*. (See the series of articles in the *Nation* beginning with "Fascism at Columbia University," CXXXIX [Nov. 7, 1934]; and the reflections of Gaetano Salvemini, *Memorie di un fuoruscito* [Milan, 1960]; and of Giuseppe Prezzolini, *L'Italiano Inutile* [Milan, 1953], esp. 241-90, 363-88.)

liberals Fascism found no audience. Hence the favorable views of Beard, Steffens, Kallen, Schneider, and Croly must be balanced against the attitudes of Morris Ernst, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., Thorstein Veblen, James Harvey Robinson, and John Dewey, all of whom were critical of Mussolini's great adventure.

The case of Dewey deserves attention. During the twenties he traveled throughout Europe and the Far East, recording many of his impressions in the *New Republic*. In his numerous articles and multivolume work *Character and Events*, he presented incisive studies of the political cultures of Russia, China, Turkey, and other developing nations. Italy, however, was ignored. It is possible that Dewey avoided visiting Italy because of the tragic death of his beloved son, Morris Dewey, in Milan in 1895.⁶⁴ But a more plausible explanation of his silence on Fascism may be found in his close relationship with Carlo Tresca and in his unfailing commitment to the principles of the open society. Tresca, a colorful anarchist who fought the Fascists on the streets of New York until his assassination in 1943, collaborated with Dewey in championing many causes, including the Sacco and Vanzetti case and the "counter-trial" of Leon Trotsky. From his deep personal friendship with the Italo-American anti-Fascist, Dewey could have formed only the most negative view of the reaction in Italy.⁶⁵ Fascism's blatant attack on democratic values and its exalted irrationalism, moreover, would have been repugnant to Dewey's firm belief in democratic means and his faith in freedom and human intelligence. In one rare instance where Dewey did mention Fascism in the twenties he criticized "the disciples of Lenin and Mussolini [who] vie with the captains of capitalist society in endeavoring to bring about a formation of dispositions and ideas which will conduce to a preconceived goal." To the American educator, Italy's intellectual regimentation and academic thought control, which attempted to instill "a mental picture of some desired end,"⁶⁶ only flew in the face of its own claims to pragmatic openness and spontaneity. Committed to the "sound principle of interdependence of means and end,"⁶⁷ to the conviction that practice validates theory, Dewey remained skeptical of the theoretical tinsel of the Fascist program.

Other liberals like Eduard C. Lindeman and Morris Cohen also had doubts about the ideological claims of Mussolini's Italy. Rather than as a

⁶⁴ I am indebted to M. Halsey Thomas, Dewey's bibliographer, for bringing this information to my attention. (Letter from Thomas to me, Feb. 23, 1965.)

⁶⁵ See Dewey's letter to Tresca in *Ommaggio alla Memoria Imperitura di Carlo Tresca* (New York, 1943), 48.

⁶⁶ John Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems* (New York, 1927), 200.

⁶⁷ *Id.*, "Means and End," *New International*, IV (Aug. 1938), 232-33.

pragmatic experiment, they saw Fascism as a dogmatic state worship that would soon ossify into a "doctrinaire finality."⁶⁸ From a different angle of vision, Walter Lippmann, who earlier in his career had called for a dynamic, pragmatic interpretation of politics, tempered his relativism with a touch of Catholic moral theology in the twenties so that when he surveyed Italy in 1927 he rebuked Fascism for violating the antistatist principles of Thomas Aquinas and Lord Acton.⁶⁹ Finally, many liberals dismissed Fascism as sheer sophistry, perceiving, as they did, a cynical and crude will to power behind the façade of dialectical verbiage. "They proclaim that Fascism is pragmatic, empirical, eclectic," stated one writer after studying Mussolini's speeches. "The pragmatism of the Fascio consists in hitting first, inventing a justification afterwards, and pointing with pride to the efficacy of *ex post facto* wisdom. Empiricism, in Fascist parlance, is Greek for inconsistency."⁷⁰

Despite the widespread opposition among progressives in this country, the fact that Fascism received a "pragmatic sanction" from some American liberals stirred attacks from intellectuals both in Europe and in America. In *La Trahison des Clercs* (1927), Julien Benda indicted James and his followers for focusing on the particular and the practical at the cost of the universal and the spiritual, and for surrendering to an empirical obsession that lost sight of transcendental values and led to authoritarian opportunism.⁷¹ The burden of taking up the antipragmatic assault in the United States was assumed by William Y. Elliott, professor of government at Harvard University. Elliott's criticism of pragmatism sprang less from a basic humanism than from a reverence for normative legalism. In briefest terms, it was Elliott's conviction that Sorel's philosophy of violence stemmed from James's insight into the myth as motive force, that Dewey's stress on "organic" functionalism came too close to Léon Duguit's philosophy of social "solidarism," and that both these syndicalist ideas resulted in antidemocratic reaction. "Instrumentalism is the same development away from the radical empiricism of James's doctrines which Fascism represents in relation to syndicalism." In short, Dewey's collectivism and Sorel's activism, however democratically conceived at the outset, carried the seeds of authoritarianism, for both theories gave way to the contingencies of reality and followed a "pragmatic

⁶⁸ Eduard C. Lindeman, "A New Challenge to the Spirit of 1776," *Survey*, LVII (Mar. 1, 1927), 679-82; Morris Cohen, "Dictatorship on Trial," *Current History*, XXXIV (Aug. 1931), xii-xv.

⁶⁹ Walter Lippmann, "Autocracy versus Catholicism," *Commonweal*, V (Apr. 18, 1927), 627-28.

⁷⁰ Eugene S. Bagger, "The Playboy of the Southern World," *New Republic*, XLI (Dec. 3, 1924), 49-50.

⁷¹ Julien Benda, *The Betrayal of the Intellectuals*, tr. Richard Aldington (Boston, 1955), 98-99.

progress toward the negation of [their] premises."⁷² Lacking a normative prescription and an ethical compass, pluralistic pragmatism provided no inner check to prevent the corruption of power and the tyranny of the state. The culminating creature of this fleeting moral order was Mussolini, the "prophet of political pragmatism."⁷³

However tenuous may have been Elliott's thesis connecting Fascism to pragmatism, as a staunch liberal dedicated to the traditional forms of democracy, Elliott was, among American writers, the most active critic of Mussolini's Italy. In his debates, lectures, and writings, he continually warned political commentators that Fascism represented a dangerous departure from historic liberalism, and he chided the public for tolerating Mussolini's methods while condemning those of Stalin. In 1926 Elliott helped establish, together with the exiled historian Gaetano Salvemini, the International Committee for Political Prisoners, organized to aid the anti-Fascist cause and to inform the uncritical public of the true nature of the regime.⁷⁴

That the only thorough American critique of Fascist philosophy should come from an antipragmatic liberal suggests the theoretical weakness of the pragmatic Left in the twenties. More than one historian, generally with Hitler and Stalin in mind, has commented upon the inability of liberals to answer the rise of dictatorship because of their debilitating relativism.⁷⁵ But in fairness to the pragmatic liberals, their reaction to Mussolini must be measured against the response of American society as a whole, and in this light they emerge rather well. In contrast to the favorable opinion of the mass

⁷² William Y. Elliott, *The Pragmatic Revolt in Politics: Syndicalism, Fascism, and the Constitutional State* (New York, 1928), 324.

⁷³ *Id.*, "Mussolini: Prophet of the Pragmatic Era in Politics," *Political Science Quarterly*, XLI (June 1926), 161-92. Although Elliott was unaware of the liberal defense of Fascism in this country by the writers discussed above, he saw the potential for such a defense in the social philosophy of Laski, who during the twenties was interpreting Duguit's "solidarism" to American pragmatists. (Letter from Elliott to me, Feb. 15, 1965.) Liberals of the pragmatic school received Elliott's book with understandable resentment. Kallen, who never regarded Mussolini as a pragmatist but whose own pragmatic disposition, ironically enough, made him briefly susceptible to certain features of Fascist thought, later made the distinction between liberal and authoritarian rationalism—the former being rooted in pluralism and tolerance, the latter in an intransigent cult of the state. He also attacked Elliott for lumping together a smattering of similarities in syndicalism, Fascism, and Bolshevism to claim that they all boiled from the same pot of pragmatism. "The same kind of thinking could assimilate the philosophy of the Declaration of Independence to the political notions of Thomas Aquinas and identify a horsechestnut with a chestnut horse." (Kallen, "Mussolini, William James, and the Rationalists," 256; see also Schneider's critical review of the Elliott book, *New Republic*, LVII [Nov. 21, 1928], 23.)

⁷⁴ William Y. Elliott and Gaetano Salvemini, *The Fascist Dictatorship* (New York, 1926.)

⁷⁵ Eric F. Goldman, *Rendezvous with Destiny: A History of Modern American Reform* (New York, 1960), 157-58, 240-42, 290-97; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Vital Center: The Politics of Freedom* (Boston, 1962), 39-43; Daniel Aaron, *Men of Good Hope: A Story of American Progressives* (New York, 1951), 301; David Noble, *The Paradox of Progressive Thought* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1958), 247-48.

public, which continued until the Ethiopian crisis,⁷⁶ the liberals' support lasted no more than a few years and was confined to the small minority discussed above. We would do well to bear in mind that Fascism, because of its novelty, eclecticism, and ambiguity, drew admiration from conservatives as well as from liberals, from Christian disciples of natural law, from humanist advocates of ordered hierarchy, and from nervous defenders of private property, not to mention the general public, whose understanding of Fascism was shrouded by a fascination with Mussolini and his cult of personality. In the end it was, after all, not Dewey and Kallen but Santayana and Pound who found their spiritual home in Italy.

Indeed, rather than pointing up the ethical pitfalls of pragmatic relativism, the liberals' flirtation with Fascism reveals that they were not pragmatic enough. To be sure, Fascism won some liberal approval in this country because, as the first example of a society that was economically mixed and technically managed, it symbolized an untried challenge, a historical innovation that opened up new possibilities for purposeful planning. But the relationship between planning and performance raised a central contradiction in the pragmatic estimate of the Fascist system. Although several liberals endorsed Fascism because it signified the triumph of practice over theory, it was essentially the theoretical appeals of corporatism that interested them. Thus the precise benefits of "class cooperation," the party control over labor syndicates, the connection between foreign loans and industrial growth, and other such crucial concerns all went uninvestigated. Nor was the testimony of exiles like Salvemini consulted. Too caught up in the official proclamations of the Fascist government, liberals failed to see if the system was really working. This failure is most obvious in Schneider's studies. As a colleague of Dewey, who gave him "encouragement, advice, and criticism" with his book, Schneider wrote a highly complimentary study of Fascism on the grounds that it was realistic and "functional." Yet he refused to address himself to the "deeds" and "practical value" of the government, regarding his point of view as an author as something akin to that of Plato toward the republic, an indulging in "an adventure of the philosophic imagination."⁷⁷ In refusing to ascertain Fascism's "fortunes in the world of practice,"⁷⁸ Schneider was committing the most unpardonable of pragmatic sins; he was assuming the role of, to use Dewey's own phrase, the "otiose observer."

By concentrating on words rather than on deeds, by separating theory

⁷⁶ Diggins, "Mussolini's Italy," Chap. vii.

⁷⁷ Schneider, *Italy Incorporated*, 3.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

from practice, the pro-Mussolini liberals were simply not acting as good pragmatists. This chapter in intellectual history thus reveals less about the inherent flaws of pragmatic philosophy than about the human limitations of pragmatic thinkers. As such, the episode may still serve as a cautionary history for modern American liberalism.

* * * * * *Reviews of Books* * * *

General

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON: A TRIBUTE. Edited by *Ruth Anna Fisher* and *William Lloyd Fox*. (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 137. Cloth \$3.25, paper \$1.95.)

THIS is a collection of appreciations by men and women who knew J. Franklin Jameson personally and were associated with him on various of his famous historical projects. Waldo G. Leland, today the only biographer of Jameson (*DAB*), who knew him and his work better than any surviving individual, describes Jameson's primary role in the origins of the National Historical Publications Commission. Dumas Malone, who edited the *Dictionary of American Biography*, which Jameson encouraged, deals with the history of that great project: "Even after I had grown a little older and assumed major responsibility for the enterprise, I continued to view the sage of American scholarship with diffidence, but this merged with reverence as time went on." Curtis W. Garrison, who worked for him in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, writes the most warmhearted of all the tributes. Verner W. Clapp and David C. Mearns reflect the veneration with which officials of the Library of Congress viewed him. John Tracy Ellis testifies to the catholicity of Jameson's interest in and furtherance of American religious history. Fred Shelley traces Jameson's long and eventually successful campaign for the National Archives. John K. Wright deals with the *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*, also fathered by Jameson. Mrs. Mary R. Dearing, the last of the Jameson "feminine fellows," whom Miss Shirley Farr endowed successively for a year's independent study and experience in Washington under Jameson's guidance, testifies to the usefulness of that idea; too bad she did not include a roster of these able young women and their later accomplishments.

"Dr. John Franklin Jameson . . . still heads our ever lengthening list of historical editors," writes Boyd C. Shafer who, having served more years as editor of the *AHR* than any of Jameson's successors, ought to understand the problems faced in that office.

Allan Nevins, briefly relating his own contacts as a young man with the sage of American history, quotes him: "You know, I have never written a book." By that Jameson meant that his numerous publications (of which a complete bibliography is here furnished by the late Donald H. Mugridge) were mostly documentary. He conceived of his talents as heuristic rather than creative. But his aids to scholars and his inspiration were worth many creative volumes on American history and history in America and many more to follow.

All the contributors agree on his personality: reserved and seemingly distant at first meeting, austere and almost awesome, but the more one knew him, the more one appreciated his geniality and the warmth of his friendship.

For Miss Fisher who conceived this volume of tribute, and who saw it through to publication along with Mr. Fox, it is a labor of love. 'Tis a pity the many holograph letters he wrote at regular intervals to her in London in the interwar period, recounting his reactions to the American scene, were destroyed by Hitler's bombs during the later German *Blitzkrieg*.

All who knew him, old and young, loved him. And how patient he was with brash but eager young folk! He was the greatest man I ever personally knew.

Yale University

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

HISTORY. By *John Higham* with *Leonard Krieger* and *Felix Gilbert*. [Humanistic Scholarship in America, The Princeton Studies.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1965. Pp. xiv, 402. \$8.95.)

THIS work is one of a series of volumes presenting "a critical account of American humanistic scholarship in recent decades"—a series commissioned by the Council of the Humanities at Princeton University and made possible by a grant from the Ford Foundation. It has been conceived in the grand manner. The present day is seen against a background extending to something like three-quarters of a century. In the last of the five large sections of the book, American historiography is related to the wider world of Western scholarship.

The main part of the work, by Professor Higham, is the most refreshing and original, though it owes much to the multitude of special studies already devoted to the astonishingly varied aspects of the subject. It provides in the first place a comprehensive survey of the rise of the historical profession and the way in which history came to be professionalized. Although it is often a case of counting heads or collecting facts about institutions—presenting the kind of data that are dear to the social thinker—the result is never pedestrian, never as materialistic as one would expect. The reader is perpetually aware of the spirit that lies behind the hard data, perpetually alive to the relevance that they have for the history of scholarship. He is likely to be repeatedly surprised and delighted by the sensitivity of the author, as well as by the extraordinary frankness with which faults and inadequacies are treated.

But if Higham is very much "down to earth" in his first section, he has the advantage of being at home in the higher altitudes in the second, which gives an account of developments in the theory of history. He starts by describing the early professional historians' dislike for any theoretical treatment of their subject—"the distrust of philosophy went to an almost paralyzing extreme." He very properly points out, however, that "American historians in recent years have shown a special predilection for writing about historical writing. . . . The sheer quantity is astonishing." He discusses particularly the New History and the problem of relativism, the subordination of the past to the present, and the question of the relationship with the social sciences.

His grasp of underlying theory also enables him to organize his third section, which treats of the handling of American history in the United States. His comprehensive survey of this important field is chiefly enriched, however, by his discriminating eye, which is quick to seize upon historiographical changes that have a general significance. In Osgood "colonial history ceased to be a mere prelude to later American history and acquired a new interest and amplitude of its own." Also "the

Americans now told the Old World something new about itself." The New Historians showed "more interest in interpreting change than in articulating continuity." "The outstanding achievement of progressive scholarship between the wars was a broadening of the scope of historical narrative."

In the chapter on "The Renewal of History" he diagnoses the present-day position. At this point his eye is on historiography at its best, and he may be underestimating the strength of the pull that mediocrity can still exert. He sees since World War II the recovery of the prestige and influence of the humanistic scholar and "a revival of confidence in historical knowledge." The new outlook is associated with the realization that history is neither a science nor an art, but *sui generis*. The historian need not be the prisoner of the contemporary world, writing and organizing his work in subservience to the present day. The "creative outreach of imagination" can rise beyond this; though the contemporary world is a factor in the case, the historian "should make use of the present in the very act of transcending it." The relativity of history need not operate as a limitation; the special features of the historian's "observational position" should be regarded as offering positive opportunities. And history is neither the rival nor the slave of the social sciences; it uses these as an addition to its resources. In this way the old antitheses have been softened and controversy has become "more temperate and constructive."

Professor Krieger, who deals with the handling of European history in the United States, does not have the opportunities that were open to Higham; and Professor Gilbert, treating European historiography, covers ground that has already been heavily worked upon. Their scholarly work contains new things, and their views are interesting; but on this occasion they possibly fail in the imaginative operations that generate electricity.

Cambridge University

H. BUTTERFIELD

THE ORIGINS OF MODERN CONSCIOUSNESS. By *John Higham et al.*

Edited and with an introduction by *John Weiss*. [Wayne Book, Number 18.]
(Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1965. Pp. 205. \$2.95.)

INTELLECTUAL historians have concentrated in recent years on the revolutionary quality of the period from about 1880 to the First World War. To books such as H. Stuart Hughes's *Consciousness and Society* and Gerhard Masur's *Prophets of Yesterday* is now added this engaging collection of essays, based on papers given at a recent Wayne State University symposium organized by John Weiss.

Each of the seven essays included is the work of a distinguished scholar, and each makes a useful contribution to our grasp of the advanced thinking of *la belle époque*. The topics range from the declassicalization of physics to Valéry and Freud, from the American counterdecadence of the 1890's to Max Weber's prophecies of doom. The editor's introduction supplies no clear definition of "modern consciousness," but he seems to agree with Hughes that it originated in the late nineteenth-century rebellion against positivism, which gives the period such spiritual unity as it may possess. Although the older trends persisted, the men of the *avant-garde* were turning away from the dogmas of the 1860's and 1870's and searching for new ways of understanding man and nature. In their search they anticipated some of the leading tendencies of twentieth-century thought: rela-

tivism, skepticism, the psychological approach, existentialist *Angst*. At the same time, it was a complex generation, leaping to many different conclusions and oscillating wildly between hope and despair; most of the essays emphasize this. Of special value are John Higham's study of the reorientation of American culture in the 1890's, Eugen Weber's richly textured survey of French thought in the generation of "Jean Barois," and Benjamin Nelson's essay on Max Weber. The other contributions, all quite sound, include a paper on the idea of nature by A. W. Levi, which offers a characteristic defense of Whitehead; a comparative study of Valéry and Freud by Roger Shattuck, discussing their apprehension of the unity of thought and feeling in the work of Leonardo da Vinci; a brief intellectual biography of Meinecke by Masur; and a summary by George Gamow of the revolutions in geometry and physics.

Wellesley College

W. WARREN WAGAR

AN INTRODUCTION TO CONTEMPORARY HISTORY. By *Geoffrey Barraclough*. (New York: Basic Books. 1964. Pp. vii, 272. \$4.95.)

HISTORIANS who embark on a sweeping reinterpretation of our own age must possess some special qualities: erudition, imagination, audacity, and perhaps a touch of dogmatism. Geoffrey Barraclough demonstrates all of these traits in this brief volume, the outgrowth of a series of lectures presented at Oxford and at UCLA. It is a provocative book, one that is likely to inspire both enthusiastic approval and strong dissent. Some readers (like myself) may find themselves oscillating between these two reactions.

Barraclough believes that the era known as "modern" has recently given way to a new age yet unnamed, but tentatively labeled "contemporary" or "post-modern." The period 1890-1961, he contends, was the watershed between these two eras, a time of transition when the Old World was dying and the New World coming to life. By the end of 1960 these cumulative trends produced their full effect; for those who have eyes to see, "a world of great regional blocks seemed to be arising, different in almost all its preconditions from the world of nation-states of thirty or forty years ago." If historians are to understand this new age, they must abandon the causal or genetic approach inherited from German historicism; they must rid themselves of their passion for the idea of continuity and must focus mainly on the forces working toward structural change.

For Barraclough, the fundamental forces disintegrating the modern world were the industrial and social revolution of the later nineteenth century and the "new imperialism" which was bound up with that revolution. After analyzing the peculiar nature of these forces, he assays their consequences during the transitional years 1890-1961: the gradual dwarfing of Europe, the shift from a European balance of power to a system of world politics, the breakdown of liberal democracy under the pressure of mass society, the revolt of the non-European world against the West, the emergence of a new ideology (Communism) to express the forces released by social and economic change, the collapse of the humanist tradition, and the groping attempts of artists and writers to find new forms of "relevant" creative expression.

It would be futile to grapple with Barraclough's thesis in a brief review. It seems to me, however, that behind the cautious and tentative judgments one can

detect a hard core of doctrinaire conviction, a tendency at times to fit the evidence into a preconceived pattern, an occasional inclination to indulge in circular reasoning. Perhaps Barraclough is right about the irretrievable breakdown of liberal democracy, about the outmoded nature of the humanist tradition, about the derivative character of ideologies as mere reflections of socioeconomic realities, about the indigenous sources of Africa's and Asia's resurgence, about the non-ideological origins of Russo-American rivalry, about the "positive" and "relevant" message of Sartre and Brecht as opposed to the pure negativism of Camus. He may even be right about the stubborn narrow-mindedness and conservatism of most historians. Happily, the ragged remnants of the old liberal-humanist world still provide us with a temporary refuge within which we can indulge some of our outmoded precontemporary illusions.

Stanford University

GORDON WRIGHT

NAISSANCE ET AFFIRMATION DE LA RÉFORME. By *Jean Delumeau*. ["Nouvelle Clio": L'histoire et ses problèmes, Number 30.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1965. Pp. 417. 20 fr.)

INTERPRETATIONS of the Reformation engage the author in a concluding section. He rejects the Marxist and every other explanation in terms primarily of economic, social, and political circumstances. The Reformation was fundamentally a religious movement, though of course there were many concomitants. The book begins with an account of the piety of the late Middle Ages, the cult of the macabre, the fevered struggle to acquire standing with God by human effort, whether of oneself or of the saints. Then comes the account of the revolt of Luther, himself steeped in medieval piety but rejecting the medieval solution of the problem of salvation, which for him depended solely on God's grace vouchsafed through Christ and accepted by faith. Neat sketches of Zwingli, Calvin, and the Anabaptists follow. The Reformation in France very properly receives more attention than is common in English works. The scope of this book extends through the seventeenth century covering the Thirty Years' War, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the Puritan movement and reaches even into the eighteenth to describe German Pietism and English Methodism. At the end comparisons are made between the Protestant and Catholic reform movements; similarities between Calvin and Loyola are not fanciful. Protestantism also exhibited a counterreformation, that is, a reaction against the initial reform. The Catholic Church moved away from monastic mendicancy, and the Council of Trent was puritanical regarding the arts.

The work is well informed, sober, and discriminating in judgment; the bibliography is helpful.

Yale University

ROLAND H. BAINTON

THE UNITED STATES AND THE ARAB WORLD. By *William R. Polk*. [The American Foreign Policy Library.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 320. \$5.95.)

THIS book contains considerable specific gravity, unevenly distributed. It begins with a handicap in its title. For the sake of titular harmony in the series to which

it belongs, *The United States and the Arab World* hardly fits a volume that, until the last two chapters in a total of eighteen, is primarily a summary of and commentary on stages in the evolution of the Arab Middle East since ancient times. The handicap persists despite the author's intent to present "the essential facts, ideas, emotions and guesses which one needs to understand the relations between the United States and the Arab World." The author's interest in various aspects of the contemporary Middle East, nevertheless, is catholic, and his interpretations generally deserve appreciative notice. His discussion of the factors leading to the rise and shaping of nationalism within the matrix of theory of Arab unity, for example, is excellent. There is no sign of partisanship in his rather detailed treatment of the Arab-Zionist contest. He is definitely at home in dealing with relatively recent social and economic phenomena in the area. Part Six, which recapitulates the title of the book and to which the whole is addressed indirectly or directly, is a worthy culmination of the volume. Some of the author's philosophic observations are notable. "Reality is never so simple as representations of it" and "A too-precise systematization of events and pronouncements results in a pattern which, though true in hindsight, distorts the context in which each decision was taken and each event occurred" are instances in point.

Flaws unfortunately mar the author's work: one suspects that in some instances his sources may have been in error. For example, there were no English steamers on the Euphrates in 1834; Colonel Chesney did well to have two assembled there in 1836. It was the loss in 1837 of the Benares' *Doria Dowlut*, not a "British" ship, that led to the Aden expedition in 1839. Crediting Disraeli (d. 1881) with the saying that, in World War I, the "Allies floated to victory on a wave of oil" can only have been an egregious slip. Again, "what ultimately made possible a graceful withdrawal from Lebanon in 1958" was hardly "a Lebanese compromise," but rather Section 3 of the Arab Resolution unanimously adopted at the United Nations on August 30 in response to President Eisenhower's address on August 13. Conscientious proofreading would have improved the book in numerous places.

American University

HALFORD L. HOSKINS

THE AUSTRALIAN IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY, 1848-1962. By *Helen Hughes*. ([Parkville:] Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1964. Pp. xv, 213. \$8.50.)

IRON AND STEEL IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA: AN ECONOMIC INQUIRY. By *Peter Temin*. [M. I. T. Monographs in Economics.] (Cambridge, Mass.: M. I. T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1964. Pp. ix, 304. \$7.50.)

EVEN though Dr. Hughes's study is present oriented and is concerned to but a limited extent with the nineteenth century, the titles of these books suggest the possibility of joint reviews. During the first six decades the pig iron output of the Australian industry exceeded ten thousand tons annually in only two years. The subsequent development of the Australian iron and steel industry parallels to some extent the American experience in the importance of the rail market, which was gradually superseded by the more varied demands of an urbanizing society with rising living standards. In its infancy the industry drew chiefly on England

for its technology, but during its years of rapid growth the United States was by far the more important center of influence. The author devotes most of her book to the Bunker Hill Proprietary Company which, shifting from silver mining just prior to World War I, had achieved vertical integration and a virtual monopoly in the Australian industry by the mid-1930's. She raises some serious questions concerning its performance as a monopoly, not because of prices or profits, but because of an undue caution in new investment, which has caused the company to lag technologically, to fail to use its rich raw material resources and locational advantages to develop an export trade in the postwar years, and even to fall short of meeting domestic demand until forced to expand by the pressure of Australian state governments and the threat of competition. Her narrative study is illumined by an obvious competence in the relevant literature in economics and technology.

Dr. Temin has used the methods of economic analysis on historical materials in his book on the nineteenth-century American iron and steel industry. Its structure, consequently, is more topical than chronological, though it is broken into two parts at 1865, dividing the later steel era from the iron era with which he begins his study in 1830. The author has directed his attention to changes in production methods, in the raw materials used, in the importance of various iron and steel products, and in the size, number, degree of integration, and forms of combination of the firms comprising the industry. He has centered his analysis on supply and demand and has sought with considerable success to determine what forces in the industry on the supply side and what pressures of demand deriving from conditions in the economy were relatively more significant at particular periods in shaping the industry's growth. The treatment after 1865 tends to be somewhat more conventional than for the earlier period. Temin shows clearly how appropriate the Bessemer process was for the manufacture of steel rails and how that process gradually yielded to the more flexible and superior basic open-hearth process when rails were no longer relatively so important among steel products. Historians will also note his conclusion that pools, except occasionally for rails, were of little effect in the later nineteenth century—a fact of considerable consequence in bringing about the organization of the US Steel Corporation. This book should be of special interest because of the methodology employed.

San Francisco State College

GERALD T. WHITE

DEUTSCHLAND, DIAZ UND DIE MEXIKANISCHE REVOLUTION: DIE DEUTSCHE POLITIK IN MEXIKO 1870-1920. By *Friedrich Katz*. [Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Allgemeine Geschichte an der Humboldt-Universität Berlin, Number 9.] (Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften. 1964. Pp. 515. DM 45.)

THIS formidable work should greatly interest those who deal with US diplomatic history and the history of Mexico. They should not be discouraged by the author's liberal use of the terms "aggression" and "imperialism" in describing Germany's relations with Mexico before 1945 for he has added a sort of addendum at the end praising the work of the *sozialistischen Länder* in Latin America.

The author investigated the archives of both German Republics, giving special thanks to the government of the German Democratic Republic for its "liberal aid," and those of Austria, France, Mexico, and Cuba and used practically everything

that has been published in the United States, Mexico, Great Britain, and other countries on the subject. It would have helped to have revised the footnotes to obtain more consistency. The same is true of the only index in the book, an index of names, in which some people have only their surnames cited and others both surnames and given names. Katz also confuses Spanish surnames and given names.

After a concise review of the development of Mexico to 1876, the author launches into a long account of the foreign relations of the Díaz regime. In this period a rising German commercial class developed a strong interest in Mexico, especially in textile manufacturing, although several German consuls correctly warned that there was no future for German textiles in Mexico with the strong French and other interests entrenched there. The Kaiser demanded more German commercial activity in Mexico and even had an eye on Lower California, while some German leaders felt Mexico should be left to the United States, and still others suggested that German and American banks and businesses might cooperate in Mexico. Katz feels that until 1898 there was a fairly strong commercial rivalry between the United States and Germany in Mexico, while from 1898 to 1906 the German policy leaned toward cooperation and a desire to avoid angering the US. He feels that the results of the first Venezuelan controversy were a reason for this change. Although the Mexican press, he asserts, supported President Castro (and the US) during the controversy, Díaz hoped to use Germany as a foil against growing US influence in Mexico. From 1906 to 1908 Germany again considered the idea of freeing Mexico from American domination, especially economic, and the possibility of furnishing arms to Mexico. The Kaiser believed his minister's report that thousands of Japanese reservists were secretly training in Mexico and told President Roosevelt that Germany could help the US in a war against Japan. Katz says that Roosevelt could not accept such a proposition because it would have meant the end of the Monroe Doctrine. American historians will be interested in the many reports of German diplomats so frequently quoted in the book.

The author's opinion is that Germany's policy in Mexico in this period "hat verschiedene Stadien durchlaufen, hat Höhen und Tiefen erlebt. Will man ihr Ergebnis in einem Wort zusammenfassen, dann muss man sagen: Sie ist gescheitert." Perhaps it did not really run aground; nor was it shipwrecked. It merely was quite unsuccessful, largely because of US proximity to and interest in Mexico.

University of Colorado

Fritz L. Hoffmann

THE LONG FUSE: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE ORIGINS OF WORLD WAR I. By *Laurence Lafore*. [Critical Periods of History.] (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1965. Pp. 282. Cloth \$4.50, paper \$1.45.)

SOUTHEASTERN Europe is the focus of this excellent study of the origins of the First World War. Germany's role, the alliance system, and the sources of conflict elsewhere in Europe are described with great clarity and style, but they are put in their proper perspective, since "the war, that vast phenomenon, grew out of a single international event, which was the conflict between the Habsburg Monarchy and the kingdom of Serbia. Had Austria-Hungary been differently constituted, had Serbia posed a less lethal threat to it, there would have been no Austro-

Serbian war in 1914; and if a general war had come later, it would have been fought on different terms and taken different forms." This is an obvious point, perhaps, but one that has sometimes eluded our view, blocked as it was by the war guilt discussion, by the search for culprits, or by the understandable desire to see the magnitude of the event matched by that of its cause.

There are, then, in this perceptive and informed reinterpretation of the literature of the war's origins, no villains, no conspirators (assassins excepted), no seekers after world dominion. There are only fallible and sometimes not very competent men. Their errors, more often than not, were occasioned by what they had good reason to consider the legitimate defense of the national interest, not by any deliberate intention to plunge Europe into catastrophe. Their worst sin—even in the case of Jagow and Bethmann, with whom Mr. Lafore deals relatively harshly—was "a misunderstanding of the consequences." The misunderstanding was easy enough. What the statesmen who were rather more ready to accept the risk of war than would later appear justified expected was a limited, or, at any rate, a very short war. What they did not expect was mass destruction followed by revolution. Nor did the military experts offer any advice that could have disturbed this view. "No one, let it be said again, realized that the war they were consciously risking was the first World War."

It was through miscalculation, and an all too human inability to visualize the future in terms much different from those of the immediate past, that the world went to war after Sarajevo. "This war," said Kafka to a friend in 1916, "above all was caused by a tremendous lack of imagination." It was as frightening a cause as any.

University of California, Santa Barbara

JOACHIM REMAK

STRUGGLE FOR THE WORLD. THE COLD WAR: 1917-1965. By *Desmond Donnelly*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1965. Pp. 511. \$7.95.)

IN this excellent and well-informed book the judgments are sound, the narrative clear and succinct, and the choice of topics to be omitted, those only to be touched upon, and those to be discussed at greater length well made. In 64 pages, mostly devoted to Russian affairs, the author brings the account to August 1939; the next 150 pages deal with the war period; and the book closes with an evaluation of the Chinese-Soviet rift and the dismissal of Khrushchev in October 1964. The problems of emerging independent Africa are only briefly mentioned; European and Asian crises hold the center of the stage. Donnelly gives a world setting to the Cuban crisis, which he considers a watershed in Soviet-Western relations. He commends America's decisive action, holding that once the Russians had established bases in Cuba, Khrushchev expected to capitalize on his strengthened position against the United States to seize West Berlin. Had his Cuban policy succeeded, "it was probable that the Soviet Union's leadership in World Communism would have been restored for a time."

Donnelly, a Labour member of Parliament, has written an earlier volume on Eastern Europe. To his research he adds personal insights and information from interviews with participants in the events. He mentions particularly the help given him by Anthony Eden and Dean Acheson; he also had close contacts with Ernest Bevin whom he considers by any standards "a great man." One can well

understand that he may not wish to footnote such private sources of information, but this detracts from the value of the study, especially as he carries his disregard for footnotes to direct quotations and to other significant material. While monographic documentation is not necessary in a volume such as this, more footnotes would have increased the validity and the usefulness of this fine survey. No attempt is made at a bibliography, although a two-page selective list of obvious titles is appended.

It is difficult to select items from the rich fare offered. The influence of Bevin and Acheson in the genesis of the Marshall Plan is well portrayed. Of timely interest also is the account of the Vietnam crisis and the Geneva Conference of 1954. The English were in no way inclined to support Dulles' plan for active military intervention at this time. There are also interesting side lights on Khrushchev's disruption of the Paris summit meeting in 1960. Altogether the book makes fascinating reading.

Bowdoin College

E. C. HELMREICH

AMERICAN-BALTIC RELATIONS 1918-1922: THE STRUGGLE OVER RECOGNITION. By *Albert N. Tarulis*. (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 386. \$8.95.)

HERE is an indictment of Woodrow Wilson—champion and apostle of self-determination. The late Albert N. Tarulis, a Lithuanian who came to America in 1947 and who was a research analyst at the Library of Congress from 1952 to 1964, criticizes, often one-sidedly, Wilson, his Secretaries of State Robert Lansing and Bainbridge Colby, and his personal adviser Edward M. House. All were unwilling to support independence for Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Why did Wilson, who promised to make self-determination “an imperative principle of action,” neglect the Baltic States? Why did he back the Poles and the Finns and not their neighbors? Was he unaware of the Baltic peoples' yearning to govern themselves? Wilson, Tarulis claims, had ample opportunity to know of this aspiration through “American citizens from Baltic states”! As proof Tarulis catalogues resolutions, letters, and petitions sent to Wilson and to Congress by Lithuanian-American organizations (as if such political devices mattered that much). The President, he concludes, surely knew of those activities, as he must have known of the agitations of Latvian, Estonian, and Lithuanian leaders in other Western capitals.

Why, then, did Wilson reject the Baltic claim to self-determination? Tarulis' answer is quite simple. Wilson admired the Russian people as “great, marvelous, lovable, gentle, friendly, trustworthy, generous, attached to peace, democratic,” and thought Russia “a fit partner for a league of honor.” He expected the Bolshevik regime to collapse and therefore wanted to keep the Baltic States in escrow for a future democratic Russian state. Wilson was against the dismemberment of the Russian Empire, and believed that it must have a safety zone, control Baltic ports, and ally itself with the United States. Moreover, the President's “do nothing policy” was a stumbling block preventing European powers from recognizing the independence of the three Baltic States. If Wilson, Lansing, Colby, and House are Tarulis' villains, Warren G. Harding, Charles E. Hughes, and Henry Cabot Lodge are his heroes. The Republican administration realized the Soviet

menace, and honored, belatedly, Wilson's principle of self-determination through recognition of the Baltic States in 1922.

The author surveyed some major American publications and did impressive research, particularly in foreign archives and publications. Yet, the book suffers from a lack of understanding of the timing, purpose, and meaning of Wilson's call for self-determination. The President, of course, by his eloquent, well-publicized, and regrettable wartime plea encouraged nationalities in Eastern Europe and elsewhere to look to the United States to bring political freedom. And it is not surprising that peoples of many of these nations, some born during the First World War, others immediately after, would blame Wilson and the United States when high resolves and promises were not permanently achieved.

University of Connecticut

LOUIS L. GERSON

SOVIET COMMUNISM AND WESTERN OPINION, 1919-1921. By E. Malcolm Carroll. Edited by Frederic B. M. Hollyday. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 302. \$7.50.)

THE completed manuscript of this book was found among Professor Carroll's papers after his death in late 1959. Originally it was larger: Carroll's title was "The Western Powers and Soviet Russia, 1917-1921." In editing it for publication Professor Hollyday has omitted those parts dealing with Western-Soviet relations before mid-1919. This was wise; Allied intervention has been extensively treated elsewhere, and by the time this review appears John M. Thompson's comprehensive study of the Russian problem at the Paris Peace Conference will surely have been published. Hollyday also altered Carroll's title, rightly feeling that the present one is more accurately descriptive. Finally, he omitted a concluding chapter which, he says in his preface, "reviewed the interaction of Western opinion and Soviet Russia from 1921 to 1959." This chapter, Hollyday says, did not seem an integral part of the work, and in any case would now be out of date.

Even given these changes, however, one is left with a nagging doubt as to whether the manuscript should have been published at all. Carroll wrote it at an unfortunate time. Its contents make clear that, as in his *French Public Opinion and Foreign Affairs, 1870-1914* (1931), and *Germany and the Great Powers, 1866-1914: A Study in Public Opinion and Foreign Policy* (1938), he intended not merely to chart public opinion, but to relate it to the processes of foreign policy making. Those previous studies were based upon a thorough survey of the press, but they also made good use of the diplomatic documents published so copiously after World War I. The present book, while also based upon the press, has no similar documentary foundation. Carroll completed it before publication of Volumes VII-XIII, covering the period January 1920-March 1921, of the First Series of *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939*. This is particularly unfortunate, because, despite its title, his book deals primarily with Western policy and opinion during the Russo-Polish war of 1920, and for these events, given the central British role, the British documents are of crucial importance. Even Volumes VII and VIII alone (both published during 1958), containing minutes of international conferences during 1920, including the Anglo-Soviet negotiations in London, would have made his book much more complete.

Without these materials Carroll was inevitably led into occasional error and into lengthy and needless speculation. More important, his treatment of his central figure, David Lloyd George, seems often shallow and sometimes wrong.

This is not to say that Carroll has not done useful work. Of particular merit are his treatments of policy and opinion during the critical summer of 1920 in the two nations most nearly bystanders to the tangled British-French-Polish-Soviet relationship, Germany and the United States. And no one would want, or need, to duplicate his surveys of the British, French, German, and American press. Yet I must register profound disagreement with the notion, pivotal to this as to Carroll's previous works, that there is an entity called "opinion" that can be described, and its role understood, through a survey of a nation's press. Thus we are told that "British opinion" "appreciated," "accepted," "reached conclusions," "had no use for Bolshevism"; that "American opinion" "sensed"; that "Western opinion" was "confident that the Soviet regime was doomed" and that it "urged moderation and peace." These examples could be multiplied many times. They reveal a misleadingly oversimplified conception of the relationship between public opinion, the press, and foreign policy.

Princeton University

RICHARD H. ULLMAN

THE ROOSEVELT-LITVINOV AGREEMENTS: THE AMERICAN VIEW.

By *Donald G. Bishop*. ([Syracuse, N. Y.:] Syracuse University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 297. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Bishop's book deals briefly with the actual negotiation of the Roosevelt-Litvinov agreements, and at length with the actual implementation of those agreements. It is of necessity drawn from the American sources, and these sources have been skillfully and effectively used.

The Roosevelt-Litvinov agreements dealt with a number of problems, with pledges of noninterference in internal affairs, with freedom of worship, with legal protection for American nationals, with Soviet debts, claims, and assignments, and with economic espionage. Most of the materials that the author has examined concern the period to 1941.

The net impression left by this book is that the agreements of 1933 were loosely negotiated, that they were full of ambiguities, and that they failed to accomplish their purpose in any significant way. The Soviet government is clearly revealed as a most difficult one to deal with. Even under favorable circumstances its governmental processes are cumbersome in the extreme, and the shifts and evasions of Soviet diplomacy are legion. Many Americans still have the illusion that diplomatic negotiation with the Kremlin should be based on good will; Bishop's analysis makes it clear that toughness, not benevolence, must underlie relations with Russia.

It is, however, another matter to proclaim that recognition in 1933 was a political mistake. Bishop takes no such view. Secretary Dulles, twenty years after the event, believed that "on balance . . . the United States has gained more than it lost through recognition. The gain was particularly notable during the period of the Second World War." The author puts it even more strongly. He declares that the establishment of diplomatic relations was the "most important single factor on which the Second World War anti-Hitler coalition rested. No price was too

great to have the Soviet Union involved in this conflict on the same side as the United States." At a minimum, the American government was better prepared to deal with its new ally in 1941 than it would have been if it had established no connection with the Soviet regime.

Rochester, New York

DEXTER PERKINS

DEUTSCHLAND-CHINA-JAPAN 1933-1939: DAS DILEMMA DER DEUTSCHEN FERNOSTPOLITIK. By *Karl Drechsler*. [Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften des Instituts für Geschichte. First Series, Allgemeine und deutsche Geschichte. Number 25.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1964. Pp. vi, 180. DM 19.)

WRITTEN by an East German historian, this short study of the dilemma of German Far Eastern diplomacy deals with German-Japanese and German-Chinese relations respectively, the Anti-Comintern Pact, German mediation efforts during the Sino-Japanese conflict, attempts at a German-Japanese alliance, and the Tripartite Pact of 1940. All this is ground already thoroughly covered by British, German, Japanese, and American historians, all of whom (F. C. Jones, Theo Sommer, and others) are contemptuously dismissed as "bürgerlich." (My first reaction to being so labeled, given my Swiss background, was a glow of well-being derived from the knowledge of being now utterly respectable.)

This is dreary stuff, written dully, and saved from being mere polemics by only two things. The first is that Drechsler had access to I. G. Farben, Demag, and A.E.G. papers, presenting some information on German war material shipments to Nationalist China and on German investments in China and Manchuria. The second aspect that makes for some interest and either amusing or depressing reading, as one may be inclined, is Drechsler's Marxist approach to historical truth. One may expect to find such notable historians as Ulbricht, Stalin, and Mao Tse-tung (Are there pro-Peking undertones?) copiously cited, but what is one to do when faced with such delightful or abject statements as that the May Fourth movement was produced by the Bolshevik Revolution, that differences of opinion among the German ruling classes as to Germany's future Far Eastern policy in 1937 are stressed by bourgeois historians only in order to rehabilitate some members of these ruling classes to be used in a new aggressive war against the peace-loving Socialist camp, or that the Craigie-Arita agreement of summer 1938 was concluded so that Britain could goad Japan on toward attacking the USSR?

No Japanese or Chinese sources were used, and no exhibits from IMTFF, only the Judgment. In conclusion Drechsler argues that all previous writers on this subject failed to see truth, truth being defined as meaning that these events were due to manipulation of monopoly capitalism, which encouraged Japanese and German aggression and tried to deflect it toward Russia, and that (but we all know that much) only the Soviet Union conducted a true peace policy. Exit Clio, with veiled face, but a somewhat amused smile. It will take a better job than this to shake her off her pedestal and to substitute for her a figure with Ulbrichtian features—a curious image indeed!

University of New Mexico

FRANK W. IKLÉ

Ancient and Medieval

THE ANCIENT WORLD: 1200 BC TO AD 500. By *Luigi Pareti*. Assisted by *Paolo Brezzi* and *Luciano Petech*. Translated from the Italian by *Guy E. F. Chilver* and *Sylvia Chilver*. [History of Mankind. Cultural and Scientific Development, Volume II.] (New York: Harper and Row for the International Commission for a History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind. 1965. Pp. xlii, 1048. \$15.50.)

ACCORDING to René Maheu, director-general of UNESCO, this work "belongs to that noble line of great syntheses which seek to present to man the sum total of his memories" and to embrace "the past in its entirety." It is interpretive as opposed to descriptive history, but it differs from its predecessors in confining itself to cultural and scientific developments, and "it departs from the traditional approaches to the study of history, which . . . assign decisive importance to political, economic, and even military history."

The reader may wonder how a synthesis of the past in its entirety can ignore war, politics, and economics, but the problem is academic because none of the above statements are true. The book does stress culture and science, but it also treats political, economic, and military matters. Indeed, the best parts are those on politics, perhaps because their authors tried to avoid undue prolixity. The writers on languages, literature, and art seldom show such inhibitions. Rather, they seem to feel compelled to mention everything and everybody. Page after page is filled with the most recondite discussion of obscure languages and dialects. The names of ancient writers are poured out in overwhelming profusion and with little distinction between really important ones and others whose identification might have stumped Athenaeus himself. The treatment is narrative and descriptive, without attempt at synthesis. The book has three major chronological divisions, and in each there is an introduction on general history, followed by separate chapters on specialized fields: language and writing; science, trade, and technology; administration and social life; religion and philosophy; and literature and art. There is no effort to indicate how developments in one field affected those in others. The authors complain in their preface that the arrangement of the book, which was forced on them by its planners, tends to obscure the interdependence of the different fields of history, and they suggest that the reader try to discover this by comparing chapters; but that is asking him to do their work.

An incredible number of people took part in planning and writing this book. The editorial commission of UNESCO includes 127 names (though many of these can have had no direct part in the work on this volume), and 34 others, besides Pareti and his 2 aids, acted as consultants or writers of special sections. Pareti died in 1962, and his colleagues evidently felt that they should not change what he wrote, but they and the other contributors often disagree with him, their views appearing in footnotes. The notes thus do not so much support or explain the text as contradict it. These arguments may interest the specialist; they will only confuse the general reader. Rarely, if ever, can so many learned men have labored so long on a history to such little purpose. The whole project was misconceived from the start. This conglomeration of savants from so many nations could no more have

produced a coherent historical synthesis than the builders of the Tower of Babel could have created the Parthenon. Pareti might well have done better by himself; so might some of his collaborators, notably Pierre Grimal or Robert Etienne, whose comments in the notes are often trenchant.

This speculation is reinforced by the superiority of the sections on Pareti's specialty, Roman history, where he displays a sureness of touch and a control of his material seldom matched elsewhere in the book. His views are at times eccentric or biased and annoying to some of the consulting scholars, especially the Russians, whose prejudices run counter to his, but this is better than the dullness of most of the chapters. Rarely does the narrative show anything so lively as bias. It simply plods doggedly along, staggering beneath its vast load of undigested facts, as though writing the book had been a tiresome chore. Reading it certainly was.

University of Louisville

LAURENCE LEE HOWE

HELLENOSEMITICA: AN ETHNIC AND CULTURAL STUDY IN WEST SEMITIC IMPACT ON MYCENAEAN GREECE. By *Michael C. Astour*. With a foreword by *Cyrus H. Gordon*. (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1965. Pp. xviii, 415. Glds. 45.)

THE tradition in Greek literature of Near Eastern, especially Phoenician, connections with Hellas in the Heroic Age is strong. The tradition was generally accepted until Julius Beloch, toward the end of the nineteenth century, led a vigorous opposition to the admission of any Semitic influence upon Greece. His view won many adherents; Victor Bérard was a notable exception. Today we know much more about the Bronze Age, thanks to excavation, the decipherment of Linear B, and progress in the study of Linear A. As a result, most scholars, recognizing that Beloch went too far, have been reassessing the evidence.

Michael Astour has no doubts: not only was Mycenaean Greece influenced by the Western Semites; the latter actually planted colonists in Hellenic territory, in, for example, the islands, Boeotia, and Peloponnese. Astour is well equipped to examine the problem, for he is familiar with Semitic languages as well as with Greek. In Chapter I ("The Danaans-Danunians"), arguing from the linguistic and archaeological evidence and using Eastern documents, he leads the Cilician Danunians into Argolis (between 1550 and 1450) to become the Danaoi of Homer. In Chapter II ("Cadmos and the Cadmids") he applies similar methods to the Theban mythological cycle. He finds West Semitic and Mesopotamian personal names, toponyms, cults, and myths in Thebes and the rest of Boeotia in such quantities as to prove a strong Western Semitic settlement. Chapter III ("Bellerophon and Other Greco-Semitic Healer-Heroes") deals chiefly with proper names (for example, Bellerophon and his family, Jason, Cheiron, Asklepios), all of which the author traces linguistically and through myth to the Semitic East. ". . . the Semitic sound of" Bellerophon shows that he "actually was a personage of the Canaanite cycle of healing gods"; so with other heroes like Bellerophon, the names, plots, symbols, and other details of their myths reveal an obvious Semitic origin. The last chapter ("Evidence of Archaeology and Epigraphy") compels Astour to face the absence of Phoenician pottery on the excavated Mycenaean sites. He considers this without significance and points to other examples of settlement that left no ceramic evidence (as, the Nabataeans in Syria). The solu-

tion is that the Semitic invaders adopted the superior Mycenaean pottery. He finds in the Linear B tablets several Mycenaean borrowings from the Semitic languages.

Astour's book is certainly thorough, but one receives the impression that he is anxious to overwhelm his reader; he shows little respect for those who have not subscribed to his own views, especially Beloch and Carpenter. I had not been aware of a "polemic against admitting any Semitic influence upon Greece"; nor do I believe that it was motivated by "external considerations." Most scholars will agree that Astour's evidence is valid. Although I am not competent to judge the Semitic linguistic data, my impression is that he overstates the case. What we have, however, is a valuable collection of evidence, especially from the East. English is not the author's native language, and someone should have corrected his manuscript and read his proof. The system of using a code in Roman numerals in the footnotes with the key at the back of the book is deplorable. The indexes, however, are full, and the two maps are admirably clear.

University of British Columbia

MALCOLM F. MCGREGOR

THE GREAT DIALOGUE: HISTORY OF GREEK POLITICAL THOUGHT FROM HOMER TO POLYBIUS. By *Donald Kagan*. [History of Western Political Thought.] (New York: Free Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 274. \$5.95.)

PROFESSOR Kagan says he has written a history of political "thought" (broader than "theory") in relation to its times. The "dialogue" between the democratic and aristocratic traditions "was powerfully affected by the events of Greek history, and . . . cannot be understood apart from that historical development." It is surprising that this should be said argumentatively, still more surprising that it turns out not to be what the book actually contains. There is hardly any Greek history in it at all. Instead there are ten chapters about individual writers or groups of writers from Homer to Polybius, very uneven in the assignment of space to their "thought," their biographies, and all sorts of tangential material, and punctuated by one chapter on "Democratic Political Theory" and another on Alexander and the Hellenistic world.

Each chapter tends to lean openly and heavily on one or two modern authorities: the Homeric chapter on me, the one about Hesiod, Tyrtaeus, and Solon on Carrière and Werner Jaeger, "democratic political theory" on A.H.M. Jones, the Thucydides chapter on Malcolm McGregor and John Finley (whom the index merges into me), the chapters on Plato and Aristotle on Sir Ernest Barker, and so forth. These are excellent authorities, no doubt, but they also differ and disagree profoundly in outlook, leading Kagan into inconsistencies and even contradictions as he shifts from one support to another. Two examples will have to suffice.

The second chapter begins by saying that the Homeric political ideas described in the first chapter "do not, in the purest sense, constitute political thought. For they arose in a setting which was proto-political, where clan and tribe were the basis of economic, social, and religious life." That is a well-known view, but the first chapter follows my *World of Odysseus*, in which I argue that neither clans nor tribes are visibly important in the Homeric poems. They make no appearance in

Kagan's first chapter either. Both views of Homeric society cannot be right: they contradict each other.

The author is sharp with Thucydides: his "judgment on the nature of the government of Periclean Athens is altogether incorrect . . . by the evidence of his own history." Yet what Kagan himself seems to read in that history, and to accept, is that Athens had become "a shattered hulk presided over by demagogues." This brief bit of rhetoric is just about all the actual "historical development" we are given, and, if it is true, then the judgment attributed to Thucydides is the only logical one, and there is no justification for the polemic against him. If it is true, furthermore, then there is also no justification for Kagan's previous chapter, on democratic political theory, with its climactic quotation from Jones: "It is unlikely that many rogues and nincompoops would expose themselves" to the risks entailed in assuming leadership in Athens.

Conceivably I might have taken a more charitable view of such eclectic book-making if the book were not so persistently woolly in its concepts and careless in its presentation of Greek texts and of undisputed facts. It is odd but probably harmless to back the choice of Theognis and Pindar as the spokesmen for "the aristocratic response" with the argument that "the ideology of aristocracy was rooted in the Peloponnese," though one came from Megara, the other from Thebes, neither in the Peloponnese. It becomes more serious when Kagan writes that a colony "*eventually* developed as a *polis* in its own right [*italics mine*]," the central fact being that it became one immediately on its foundation. It makes nonsense of Aristotle to translate his *zoon politikon* (in the delicious variation contributed by the printer, a *politician zoon*) as "an animal of the *polis*" and "an animal who lives in the *polis*." It is an imposition on the innocent reader to pass off a notorious grotesquerie of the late J. M. Edmonds as the exact text in English translation of part of a poem by Tyrtæus, to write several pages based on that concoction, and then to dodge behind "In Tyrtæus we have only the merest hint, for theoretical speculations were not in the Spartan character."

Jesus College, Cambridge

M. I. FINLEY

GRIECHEN UND PERSER. Edited by *Hermann Bengtson*. [Die Mittelmeerwelt im Altertum, Part 1. Fischer Weltgeschichte, Number 5.] ([Frankfurt am Main:] Fischer Bücherei. 1965. Pp. 424.)

DER HELLENISMUS UND DER AUFSTIEG ROMS. Edited by *Pierre Grimal*. [Die Mittelmeerwelt im Altertum, Part 2. Fischer Weltgeschichte, Number 6.] ([Frankfurt am Main:] Fischer Bücherei. 1965. Pp. 411.)

It is good for scholars to write books for the general reader. In both ancient and modern historiography it is the interpretive narrative that has a wide influence, not the work of technical erudition. No age has been more blessed than ours in this respect, and new ancient histories possessed of various excellences pour forth from our presses in commendable profusion. In all languages, in hard covers and soft, an embarrassment of riches presents itself to the general reader, but for the scholar-author himself there is a drawback. In less crowded days he could count on being read by his colleagues. Every scholar read Grote and Mommsen, Beloch and Busolt. Now, however, no one has time to read all that is written, and much that would be exciting isolated in an article lies buried in a textbook. Where there

is so much chaff (and I use the word to mean what is common knowledge, and not pejoratively), one hardly has the patience to search for wheat.

In this case, he would be wrong, for there is much that is new and interesting in these two little volumes. Each is edited and largely written by a capable scholar with solid work behind him: Bengtson in the first instance and Grimal in the second. Both volumes are broadly planned to include, in addition to political history which comes a little short in consequence, religion, art, economics, and other cultural matters; but this is only the current fashion, and in trying to do everything in some way, there is a danger of not doing everything very well. This is not really student material. The narrative tends to be condensed and categorical, but this is inevitable when the writers have so much to say and so little space. There is, however, much exciting reading for one who knows the problems and can tell what is original.

But what is really remarkable is the series of chapters and sections on the periphery of the classical world, on Egypt, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and Judaea, discussed from their own evidence by specialists in the areas. We see them through the eyes of their own people, looking out at the Greek world, but mainly pre-occupied with their own affairs. For the student of the Hellenistic world, especially, this is important, and while such narratives have not been lacking in the past, these fresh, new, fairly full accounts are useful and important. These contributors, too numerous to list here, are from Germany, Italy, and France, but include one American, Morton Smith of Columbia, whose two chapters on Judaea are excellent. It is a difficult and controversial subject, but the treatment is cogent and original.

It is a pity, perhaps, that such excellent volumes should appear so modestly, in contrast to their (unmentioned) rival, the "Propyläen-Weltgeschichte," but no one should be deceived by their economical form and their lack of handsome illustrations. They are recommended reading for all, and specialists will neglect them at their peril.

Yale University

C. BRADFORD WELLES

STORIA DEI ROMANI. Volume IV, LA FONDAZIONE DELL'IMPERO. Part 3, DALLA BATTAGLIA DI PIDNA ALLA CADUTA DI NUMANIA. By *Gaetano de Sanctis*. [Il Pensiero Storico, 38, VIII.] (Florence: "La Nuova Italia" Editrice. 1964. Pp. viii, 309.)

THIS final section of Gaetano de Sanctis' *Storia dei Romani* was almost completed before the end of the Second World War. It has now been published, nearly a decade after his death, practically without change, as a memorial of a great historian's thought and interpretation. Hence there has been no attempt to bring references and bibliography up to date or to take account of the important works published in recent years. The insertions in the notes refer only to discoveries or studies that would have changed the factual data upon which the author depended. His knowledge of the ancient evidence, which is so scrappy, obscure, and varied in this period, has remained as comprehensive and profound as ever on all the ancient world from Spain to the Euphrates, and his powers of construction, presentation, and historical imagination are unimpaired. The work is a true successor to the earlier volumes in quality and in subject.

That subject is the development of Roman imperial policy from the Battle of Pydna in 168 to the capture of Numantia in 133. It is the generation that saw the annexation of Macedonia, the destruction of Carthage, the dissolution of the Achaean League and the destruction of Corinth, the enfeeblement of the Syrian and the Egyptian monarchies, and the long and shameful struggles in Spain. It was the deliberate policy of the Roman Senate to divide, weaken, and dominate its friends and allies while avoiding direct governmental responsibility.

The man who wrote the dedication of Part I of this volume, "A quei pochissimi che hanno parimente a sdegno d'essere oppressi e di farsi oppressori," sees Rome driven ever farther on the road to domination by the inner logic of its own imperialism: "In realtà ciò che induceva Catone a chiedere la distruzione di Cartagine ed indusse i Romani ad attuarla era la inesorabile logica dell'imperialismo." The right to rule over others became an unquestioned dogma. Syria and other powers were deliberately weakened until "at the middle of the century there became ever more evident the instability of the conditions created by the Roman intervention in the East, and the necessity of substituting for a policy of masked predominance one more realistic and constructive." The fact that Achaean loyalty had had some importance was precisely a reason for reducing the league to unimportance, and the view that the existence and freedom of the Achaean League were at stake at the moment when the Roman envoys were attacked at Corinth in 146 leads to the comment: "Il diritto delle genti è fragile salvaguardia per chi alla sua ombra osa offendere mortalmente un'assemblea di liberi." The Romans insisted on the complete suppression of Numantia in order to ensure their hold on the large and difficult provinces of Spain. Such examples as Numantia, Carthage, and Corinth were a necessary means of showing to the "proud" the determination of a minority people to dominate and rule.

The author's judgment remains in some degree ambivalent. Were there no offsetting factors? Did no good result? Greek particularism hastened the day of their own servitude. The Greeks after 167 "enjoyed a profound peace such as they had never enjoyed in an equal period of years, so that, if they had less than full independence, they also suffered less the sacrifices of blood and money which they had always paid." Macedonia, despite its dislike of foreign predominance, gained "the abolition of grievous military service, reduction of imposts, freedom from the king's arbitrary power, and autonomy of regions and cities," and on Numantia this comment is added: "one should not forget that the justification of the conquest is the inclusion of Spain in the circle of Graeco-Roman civilization, and in having prepared the formation of one of the Latin nations with the greatest and richest future." Thus the author's passionate condemnation of imperialism has still to take account of the benefits that accrued from incorporation in the ecumenical system of Rome.

University of North Carolina

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON

THE ANCIENT POPES. By E. G. *Weltin*. [The Popes through History, Volume II.] (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press. 1964. Pp. xv, 369. \$4.50.)

DR. Weltin was given a difficult and precarious task. As he admits, most of the early popes, up to St. Leo the Great, were rather insignificant personalities, or even, in his own phrase, "historical nonentities," and, again, our information about their

lives and deeds is often disappointingly scanty and obscure. Accordingly it is hardly possible to present the growth of the papacy as an institution under the guise of individual biographies and to give the specific and concrete contributions of the particular popes. The other inconvenience of the limited assignment given to Weltin was in the shortening of the historical perspective. What is missing in this narrative is precisely the Universal Church. He has to touch time and again on various general problems with which the popes had to wrestle, and all these problems appear, as it were, *ex abrupto*, and are handled rather cursorily. The major instances of this kind are the case of Pope Callistus, the struggle of Pope Stephen with the church of North Africa, the whole set of tensions between the old Rome and the new Rome. The reader, especially the common reader in the West, for whom the book is primarily intended, may be grievously misled. The largest and the most active and advanced part of the Christian Church in this period was still in the East—to be accurate, in the eastern part of the Roman Empire. The “presence” of the Christian East is hardly acknowledged in Weltin’s presentation. It is, indeed, not his personal failure, but the consequence of his restricted assignment.

On the whole the book is well written, though there are certain inaccuracies in the detail. One instance may suffice. It is not true that Greek “very likely” was the language of liturgy at Rome “at least until 150.” It is certain that Latin made its entry into the Roman Mass only about 380, that is, under Pope Damasus (see the masterly study of Theodor Klauser, the greatest contemporary authority in the field, *Der Übergang der römischen Kirche von der griechischen zur lateinischen Liturgiesprache* [1946], and also in his popular pamphlet, *The Western Liturgy and Its History*, English translation by F. L. Cross [1952]). Bibliography, or rather suggestions for further reading, is incomplete. The great book of Oscar Cullmann on St. Peter (1952), in any case, had to be included. The reader must be warned that both the German original edition and the English translation of Bishop Hefele’s monumental *History of the Councils* are by now completely antiquated, and this great work must be used in French translation by Abbé Leclercq, with his numerous amendments and additions. The publication of E. Schwartz’s *Acta Conciliorum* began only in 1914 (the date given is 1897, and it is not said that it is a multivolumed edition).

Princeton University

GEORGES FLOROVSKY

TREASON IN ROMAN AND GERMANIC LAW: COLLECTED PAPERS.

By *Floyd Seyward Lear*. (Austin: University of Texas Press for Rice University, Houston. 1965. Pp. xx, 299. \$6.50.)

HONORING Professor Lear upon his retirement from forty years of teaching service at Rice University, this volume assembles twelve of his essays, two of them bibliographical, and a book review, published in the years 1929–1955. Half are reprinted without change; others have undergone some correction and revision; and two have received minor additions. The book will provide a good introduction to this important and interesting subject and good direction to the literature.

Sometimes there is faulty interpretation of Latin texts in the sources. An important passage of Paulus is rendered thus: “All such shall be perpetually interdicted from fire and water, the more humble [*humiliores*] shall be cast to the

beasts or burned alive while those of higher rank [*honestiores*] shall be punished capitally." It should read: "used formerly to be . . . interdicted . . . , but now are cast . . . are punished. . . ." Besides changing declarative to imperative, the author makes the sentence self-contradictory as evidence for Paulus' time and completely avoids it as evidence for the earlier period.

Again, in discussion of counterfeiting money we read: "The offense to majesty consisted in the desecration of the image of the divine emperor through making a fraudulent likeness, though the economic consequences of the crime were possibly considered also. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Emperor Constantine opens his *constitutio* on this subject by affirming that 'our countenance and veneration are one.'" Constantine actually says: "All *solidi* which bear a single portrait and veneration of us are to be reckoned and sold at a single price," and goes on in effect, "*solidus* with larger portrait is not worth more than *solidus* with smaller portrait," and that what matters is the weight.

I unhappily apprehend that students may be led, by citation of sources often in translation, by discussion of the difficulties, not of "understanding" or "interpretation," but, of "translation," erroneously to conclude that research *can* be done in translated source materials. That would be grave disservice.

Duke University

ROBERT SAMUEL ROGERS

DONATISTEN UND KATHOLIKEN: SOZIALE, WIRTSCHAFTLICHE UND POLITISCHE ASPEKTE EINER NORDAFRIKANISCHEN KIRCHENSPLTUNG. By *Emin Tengström*. [Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia, Number 18.] ([Göteborg: the University;] distrib. by Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm. 1964. Pp. 202. Cloth S.kr. 45; paper S.kr. 36.)

HISTORIANS have often tried to explain the tenacity of the Donatist heresy by searching for motives supposedly more fundamental than ecclesiastical politics or religious commitment. Since the nineteenth century it has become a commonplace that Donatism was only a convenient cloak for political separatism or social protest. Tengström, however, joins other scholars of the current generation in suggesting that men will cling for years to religious values, irrational and immaterial as this may sound. Ecclesiastical history moves on its own track, so to speak, even though social pressure and economic interest may bend the track.

This, essentially, is the conclusion to be derived from a book in which the author reinforces old hypotheses and advances new ones about three aspects of Donatism: First, the Circumcellions, the adherents par excellence of the heresy, were an order of itinerant olive harvesters, working particularly in southern Numidia. Probably they were not social revolutionaries in any modern sense; certainly they were religious fanatics and terrorists, believers in suicide and devotees of the martyr cults. Second, neither of the two North African rebels and "separatists," Firmus and Gildo, found support among the Donatists as a group. Third, Donatism was always stronger in those parts of Numidia where the Circumcellions labored. During the persecutions of 377 and 411 the Donatists vanished from the North African cities. They continued to flourish in the countryside where the great landowners or landholders desperately needed laborers and were willing to protect Donatist villagers, *coloni*, or slaves despite their suspect religious

views. Donatism declined after 411 when a new group of provincial officials began to enforce the edicts against it with greater zeal than their predecessors.

Tengström's analysis is weak in some areas, but despite these weaknesses, this is a good monograph, one that will win a distinct place in the continuing literature on Donatism. It is clearly thought and admirably expressed; often the author reasons with considerable ingenuity tempered by a large degree of plain common sense.

Mount Holyoke College

JOHN L. TEALL

LES INVASIONS: LES VAGUES GERMANIQUES. By *Lucien Musset*. ["Nouvelle Clio": L'histoire et ses problèmes, Number 12.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1965. Pp. 329. 20 fr.)

MUSSET, an active writer on the Middle Ages in Western Europe, offers a concise, useful study, both sober and stimulating, of the movements of the Germans through the eighth century. Another volume will take the story to the middle of the eleventh century.

First come twenty-eight pages of bibliography and four of chronological tables. Those items that cover through the fifth century, the part most familiar to me, are well chosen. The author does justice to the archaeological, numismatic, and linguistic sources as well as the literary, juristic, and hagiological. He agrees with those who feel that the Chinese sources cannot be harmonized with the Western to give a two-sided picture of the Huns.

Since his subject is the Germans rather than the Romans, he can give a useful, connected story of them. In many places, too, he gives brief reminders of the results of well-known events (for example, the establishment of Odoacer in 476 or the departure of the Romans from Britain at the beginning of that century), which tend to correct the misimpressions that could be derived from the ordinary shorter account. Although he does so well in giving a rounded picture of the Germans, he does not offer sweeping explanations: for instance, he knows no cause for the migrations in general.

He discusses needed research: a new *Du Cange*, epigraphical studies, regional catalogues of archaeological materials. In Chapter vi he elaborates many interesting points—the nature of barbarism, the German appropriation of the Roman culture, the great damage done in a tolerable situation in Italy by Justinian's attempt at reconquest—that improve our understanding of the subject.

New York University

RICHARD M. HAYWOOD

THE FIFTH-CENTURY INVASIONS SOUTH OF THE THAMES. By *Vera I. Evison*. (London: University of London, the Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1965. Pp. 142, 11 maps, 30 figures, 18 plates. \$12.00.)

If archaeology has long been a handmaid of history, it has rarely re clothed its mistress in such new garments as these. Aware of both the importance of archaeological evidence and its incomplete publication, Vera I. Evison gives here "a working thesis" for the Germanic invasion of southern England based on Anglo-Saxon finds and their continental correlations. Especially decisive because of the

scarcity and uncertainty of written sources, this archaeological analysis gives not only firm support for the Thames as an invasion route, in contrast to most earlier scholarly opinion, but also a new theory of the dating, sequence of events, and tribal components of the earliest southern attack. Its author is justified in claiming it presents "a completely different picture of the first invasion."

An analysis of fourth- and fifth-century Frankish grave goods in northern France, distinguishable from neighboring Gallo-Roman burials, provides evidence of Franks well located for the crossing to Britain. Similar Frankish objects—metal inlaid work, glass vessels and armlets, bronze-bound wooden containers, bow brooches, and so forth—produced in northern Gaul and especially the Meuse Valley are found in fifth-century English graves, with their distribution limited to the Thames Valley and southern England. Since these objects do not all continue in sixth-century graves, although motifs and techniques derived from them develop in insular style, the author interprets them not as trade goods but as possessions of Frankish invaders in the first wave. Fifth-century graves in England demonstrate both the mixed nature of the invasion, with various Germanic peoples participating, prominent among whom were owners of Frankish goods—most probably Franks themselves from northern Gaul, at a date earlier than accepted heretofore—and the simultaneous arrival of invaders in Kent, Sussex, the Isle of Wight, Surrey, and the upper Thames. The mid-fifth-century invasion of the Isle of Wight and Hampshire, contrary to the written evidence, is not the least of the author's important conclusions.

As further evidence of the "Frankish" theory, her detailed analysis of jewelry in the Quoit Brooch Style of animal ornament, often found in England in association with Frankish objects, leads Evison to reject earlier theories of Romano-British, Jutish, and Germanic-Scandinavian origin and trace the style to Germanic craftsmen in northern Gaul, working under Roman influence and traditions. Native insular developments in style continued when objects were brought to England by Frankish workmen, a hypothesis supported by analysis of metal inlay techniques.

Although most historians would willingly sacrifice some of the detailed archaeological descriptions of grave goods for a fuller treatment of their application to the author's historical hypotheses, this first thorough use of archaeological evidence for the problems of the southern invasion results in important conclusions that all Anglo-Saxonists will have to consider. Maps, illustrations, and their description occupy over half the book and richly clarify its points. Often contrasting with leading historical opinion and with literary sources, archaeology here demonstrates British contacts with northern Gaul by the late fourth century, migration from northern Gaul to southern Britain in the fifth century, the mixed nature of the invasion, a Frankish element (which later disappears, except in Kent), in the earliest attacks, a northerly invasion course from the south coast, and the early settlement of areas such as the Isle of Wight. Less convincing is the attempt to reconcile the archaeological finds with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle account. Evison sees the first invasion in the south as "a single concerted operation," with its various geographic divisions, placed in chronological sequence by the Chronicle, actually occurring simultaneously, and this southern invasion led by Franks—*foederati* and veterans of service in Britain—whose graves are now distributed among the other Germanic troops they led. Thus, she concludes, the revolt of

Hengist and Horsa (455), Aelle's invasion (477), Cerdic and Cynric's attack (495), and Stuf and Wihtgar's assault in the west (514) should all be redated to coincide with one another in 449. This would solve some problems (such as archaeological evidence for Saxon settlement in Bedford, Aylesbury, and other areas before the Chronicle date of 571), but raise others (redating Ethelbert's reign necessitates hypothesizing another Ethelbert in Kent for the Chronicle entry of 568). What does Evison make of the evidence for similarities in skull measurements between the Saxons in the Oxford region and the Belgian Franks? Or of the presence of Saxons on both the Gallic Saxon Shore and the British Saxon Shore before the assault? Nonetheless, the Chronicle account clearly cannot stand unrevised in the face of the archaeological evidence for the simultaneous settlement in the mid-fifth century of the region south of the Thames. Historians of early Anglo-Saxon England must be indebted to Evison's observant eye and to her intelligent recasting of that epoch's vexing problems.

Lawrence University

WILLIAM A. CHANEY

BENEDICTINE MONASTICISM: ITS FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT THROUGH THE 12TH CENTURY. By *Lowrie J. Daly, S.J.* (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1965. Pp. xv, 375. \$7.50.)

INTENDED for teachers and students who wish for more than a mere outline of the subject but have no opportunity or desire for further research or wide reading, this book attains this objective very successfully. Within the half century since World War I a vast amount of work has been done on almost every aspect of monastic history, much of it by monks, and a half-dozen scholarly surveys have been made of the whole or of a large part of the field. This book is in its turn a survey on a reduced scale, and if it leans heavily on three or four larger works, that can give nothing but satisfaction to their authors. The work is well done and can stand on its own feet for its own public as a piece of careful and intelligent vulgarization, for Father Daly has steeped himself in recent literature, has found himself in sympathy with his subject, and has not falsified the monastic ideal and its reflection in history.

At the same time the reader should bear in mind what the writer has of set purpose left undone. In order to avoid confusion in the minds of those coming fresh to monastic history he has passed over in complete silence some of the major issues that have exercised recent scholars. Thus there is no mention whatever of the Rule of the Master, and the authorship and originality of the Rule of St. Benedict are not questioned even in a footnote. Similarly, there is no mention of the revision of early Cistercian history by Turk, Lefèvre, and others, and no notice is taken of the debate between recent historians as to the early Cistercian program. Was it a challenge and an indictment of contemporary monachism, or merely the provision of an alternative way of reaching the same end? Was St. Bernard a typical or a "rogue" Cistercian? Nor in general does the writer of this book attempt a synthesis of the opinions of two or more historians, still less a judgment between them, and one familiar with the literature will have little difficulty in recognizing the authority behind a particular page or chapter, even though footnote references are rightly scarce.

All this, however, is no criticism of the book, which fulfills its aim well. There

are useful short lists of books for further reading, in which space might have been found, by eliminating repetitions, for a few additions such as Lekai's short history of the Cistercians and Jean Leclercq's book on monastic spirituality and learning, which has been translated into English. The appendixes and documents include English versions of the greater part of the so-called Rule of St. Augustine, the Prologue of the Benedictine Rule, and the Cistercian *Carta Caritatis*. Mistakes and misprints are almost entirely absent.

London, England

M. D. KNOWLES

WESTFALEN UND DAS SÄCHSISCHE HERZOGTUM. By *Albert K. Hömberg*. [Schriften der Historischen Kommission Westfalens, Number 5.] (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1963. Pp. 134. DM 9.50.)

HÖMBERG has followed up his local studies of the parish organization of Westphalia and the territorial possessions of the counts of Werl with a survey of the political and constitutional development of the duchy of Saxony from Wittekind to Henry the Lion. In its constitutional aspect the topic is notoriously difficult. Chancery documents of a relevant character are few, and the studies by Hildebrand, Lintzel, Mayer, and Aubin have been heavily criticized. One of the main areas of scholarly dispute has been the problem of the precise nature of the power of the *dux Saxonie*, and indeed of the German dukes in general. In origin a military leader, the *dux* might have received his appointment from the crown, by inheritance, or by election. He was thus an ambiguous figure, in part royal official, in part the independent head of the *Stamm* or tribe. The same ambiguity haunted the scope and content of ducal power, which had not been uniformly defined by the twelfth century. The author correctly concludes that the clarification and expansion of ducal power were organically interlinked with the framing and execution of measures for the preservation of peace. As the guardian of public law and order the duke possessed the *judiciaria potestas*, the sole right to build castles for the suppression of disorder, and the power to delegate criminal jurisdiction by the grant of the symbolic sword. These capacities were gradually acquired in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and amounted to the acquisition of a *dominium quoad jurisdictionem*. But there were exceptions. Welf VI and his immediate successors were purely titular dukes until Brunswick was raised to the status of a duchy in 1235.

The author has some cogent and persuasive passages on the catastrophe that overtook the greatest of the Saxon dukes, Henry the Lion, but he might have noted with advantage that the vagueness and ambiguity of the ducal power and status were significant causes of Henry's downfall. Was he *de facto* an independent ruler? Or was he no more than an eminent and dignified servant of the crown? Or did he combine in his person both capacities? The long and involved history of the ducal office could lend some color to all these suppositions. It is undeniable that the nature and extent of the ducal power in Saxony were among the key issues in the proceedings against Henry at Gelnhausen in 1180. On that occasion the opposition avoided all reference to Henry as duke of Saxony, as the author points out. The omission implied that Henry's exertion of the ducal power at the cost of the local bishops was illegal. The same problem of definition had contributed to poison relations between Henry and Emperor Frederick I during their

dramatic interview at Chiavenna in 1176. Was Henry bound as duke to supply forces at the Emperor's petition? Were these forces to serve outside Germany? Were they to be furnished by Henry without thought of reward, or might he properly request a *quid pro quo* from the Emperor in the form of the restoration of Goslar and its valuable silver mines? But these omissions do not seriously impair the great value of the present work, which deserves the respectful attention of all students of the period.

McGill University

C. C. BAYLEY

GUIA DO ESTUDANTE DE HISTÓRIA MEDIEVAL PORTUGUESA. By A. H. de Oliveira Marques. (Lisbon: Edições Cosmos. 1964. Pp. 285. 30.00E.)

DEDICATED to his students at the University of Lisbon, this eminently competent guide is yet another in Marques' series of generous contributions to the historiography of medieval Portugal. It may well prove the most influential, for it at once converts a field that was labyrinthine confusion into a mapped, though largely unexplored, area of investigation. The way is now open into a most fascinating and neglected region of medieval history.

Explicitly modeled after Halphen's *Initiation aux Études d'Histoire du Moyen Âge*, Marques' guide provides a critical introduction to the bibliographies, the atlases and dictionaries, the books and articles of synthesis, and most of the printed sources available to the student of Portuguese medieval history. The pages devoted to social and economic history are especially valuable since much of the best work is scattered throughout often obscure journals. A second section affords the best concise summary of the relevant materials in the *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo*, that mysterious and tangled repository which has resisted all attempts at organization and classification, but whose administrative weaknesses have recently been made painfully clear in Natália Nunes' malicious *roman à clef*, *Assembleia de Mulheres*. There are also short accounts of what may be found in the other archives of Lisbon and in the provinces. His remarks on the organization of the *Biblioteca Nacional* are richly deserved and speak for his independence of mind in a land where such strictures are definitely unappreciated.

There are a few errors and omissions, owing largely to the antiquated archival indexes that Marques had to use to prepare his work. But, as he states in the preface, corrections from his readers are welcome, for the work is in a sense a collaborative effort. It is and will be the necessary beginning for every researcher, novice or experienced.

Yale University

HAROLD B. JOHNSON, JR.

TRA I NORMANNI NELL'ITALIA MERIDIONALE. By Ernesto Pontieri. (2d rev. ed.; Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane. 1964. Pp. ix, 541. L. 6,000.)

THIS volume contains most of the scholarly work of the distinguished Italian medievalist Ernesto Pontieri. The articles collected here, many of which go back to the 1920's and 1930's, were revised for the edition of 1948 and then again for the present edition. The author brought the earlier essays up to date by comprehensive bibliographies appended to the second and third articles and throughout

the volume by additional footnotes. He has also included two more recently written articles (the eighth and ninth).

In contrast to many volumes of this type, Pontieri's is distinguished by a remarkable unity of content. The general topic is the history of southern Italy in the pre-Norman and early Norman period with a special emphasis on Calabria. Not even studies on side issues detract from the general theme.

With the exception of the essay on the kingdom and its foundation, which represents the author's broad interpretation of the Norman policy of conquest, integration, and unification, all the essays deal analytically with the sources and their modern interpretation. The results of his detailed and careful research on the origins of communal organization in Benevent, for instance, contribute to related problems on the rise of city organization in Italy and elsewhere. Most important from a general point of view are the penetrating studies on the preparatory stages in Roman-Byzantine Calabria to Norman feudalism. The Norman feudal institutions were anticipated not only by some earlier types of *commendatio*, benefice, and immunity but also by a rich landed aristocracy who also succeeded in appropriating for themselves both high imperial offices and honorary titles.

Pontieri makes several contributions to the problem of survival and continuity of the Greek-Byzantine cultural heritage, which gave Calabria its double-faced orientation during the Norman period and beyond. Starting with an essay on the breach between the Roman Church and the imperial government in the East, which caused total withdrawal of the Calabrian (and Sicilian) churches from the Church at Rome along with confiscation of the patrimony of the Roman Church in these regions, Pontieri shows that the main centers of Greek influence—Church ritual and Greek language as well as philhellenism and resistance against Latinization as attempted by the Norman princes—were the Basilian monasteries. In many of them the Greek language and the Greek ritual persisted until late in the fourteenth century. Although members of the Apulian line of the Norman House of Hauteville were less favorably inclined toward the Byzantine culture than were their relatives in Sicily, they did not persecute or hamper the Greek monasteries or bishoprics. Norman and Western intrusion was slow and peaceful enough to allow a harmonious integration of French-Romanesque, Arabo-Sicilian, and Calabro-Byzantine influences in the great churches built under Norman rule. Pontieri's contribution to cultural history is enhanced by the insertion of twenty-eight beautiful illustrations with an excellence of choice and quality rarely found in historical works.

New York, New York

HELENE WIERUSZOWSKI

THE NORMAN CONQUEST. By H. R. Loyn. [History.] (London: Hutchinson University Library; New York: Hillary House. 1965. Pp. x, 11-212. \$3.00.)

Mr. H. R. Loyn, who has made important contributions to our knowledge of late Saxon England, has addressed himself in this present book to the task of synthesis rather than scholarly discovery. *The Norman Conquest* is intended for the general reader and the undergraduate. The author presents no new facts, concepts, or interpretations, but he demonstrates a firm grasp of modern scholarship on eleventh-century England and Normandy, and he fuses this scholarship into a thoughtful

and coherent account that will be useful indeed to the audience for which it is intended. He brings together the valuable recent work on pre-Conquest Normandy of such scholars as D. C. Douglas, M. de Bouard, and Jean Yver, and also presents a lucid picture of pre-Conquest English politics and institutions. He next turns to an account of the Conquest itself, and concludes with three chapters on the post-Conquest, Anglo-Norman state in which he discusses the political settlement, the introduction of Norman feudalism into England, the development of governmental institutions in England and Normandy, the post-Conquest church, and the effects of the Conquest on urban and rural life.

Much of the scholarship with which Loyn deals is intensely controversial. The author has been obliged to choose the interpretations that seemed to him most convincing and to modify or discard the rest. The theories of Richardson and Sayles, for example, are largely rejected. Loyn maintains that the Conquest had its greatest impact on the aristocracy, bringing to England a new, French-speaking nobility, a feudal organization derived from the Norman-French tradition, and a more rigorous concept of landholding. Yet even at the feudal level the post-Conquest settlement was influenced by the Anglo-Saxon past. Changes at lower levels of society were gradual and probably owed as much to the manifold effects of the "twelfth-century renaissance" and the Gregorian reform movement as to the impact of the Normans. In short, Loyn has adopted a judicious, moderate view which is aptly summarized in the concluding sentences of his book: "Only in their feudal attributes do the Normans appear as conspicuous innovators. Elsewhere it is as constructive builders on solid Anglo-Saxon achievements that their principal virtues find expression."

The author has organized his materials intelligently and has presented them in a felicitous, economical writing style that is seldom brilliant but usually clear. Occasionally he works through a difficult problem with such brevity and such abhorrence of oversimplification that the result is apt to seem cryptic to his non-specialist reader. The uninitiated is not likely to gain much from Loyn's account of the money fief, of pre-Conquest tenures in Oswaldslow, or of royal "election." In quoting from Hugh the Chantor, Loyn seems to assume that no identification is necessary—that Hugh is as well known to undergraduates as to scholars. On a few occasions such as these, the author forgets his audience. But on the whole, the nonspecialist can turn to this work with confidence and will read it with pleasure.

University of California, Santa Barbara

C. WARREN HOLLISTER

LA GRANGE DE VAULERENT: STRUCTURE ET EXPLOITATION D'UN TERROIR CISTERCIEN DE LA PLAINE DE FRANCE, XII^e-XV^e SIÈCLE. By *Charles Higounet*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Les hommes et la terre, Number 10.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1965. Pp. 69.)

THIS delightful book is a model of what good local history can and should be. M. Higounet has sketched a picture of the foundation, growth, and decline of a single Cistercian farm while at the same time successfully relating his story to the broader patterns of Cistercian and agricultural developments. The result is a study in which the particular and the general stand in symbiotic relationship, each illuminating and reinforcing the other.

Vaulerent, situated in Seine-et-Oise about two-thirds of the way from Paris to Senlis, was part of Louis VI's original endowment to the abbey of Chaalis in 1136. Initially small in extent, it began to grow some five to ten years later when permanent buildings, one of which still stands, were erected. Donations then made growth rapid until the opening quarter of the thirteenth century, after which expansion practically ceased. The return from the land, tilled by *conversi*, appears to have been good. But before the end of the century there were signs of trouble: donations were few and *conversi* impossible to recruit. In 1315 a crisis ensued, and the land was rented to others. In 1446 the monks of Chaalis were forced to report to royal commissioners that Vaulerent was "completely desolated, with neither house nor manor beyond the empty walls."

This simple history, instructive in itself, is fleshed out with a variety of details. One is struck by the extent to which the Parisis appears to have remained uncultivated as late as the 1140's, but at the same time one catches glimpses of the numerous petty nobility of the region, a class whose activities are all too often unknown. Lastly, one comes vividly to appreciate the nature of all the charges with which land could be encumbered, and one sees graphically the importance of the *conversi* to the economic life of the Cistercians.

Higounet has been blessed with a relative abundance of documents and has used them well. In the maps he has been able to detail most of the major holdings of Vaulerent at various stages in its development, and in 1315 he can even indicate which crops were planted where. But the documentation does have its limitations. Nothing is known, for example, of the actual physical process of cultivation and exploitation, and occasionally causation is obscure. It must be emphasized, however, that these are minor points and do not markedly detract from the quality of the work. It is a job well done.

Dartmouth College

CHARLES T. WOOD

ANGLO-SCOTTISH RELATIONS, 1174-1328: SOME SELECTED DOCUMENTS. Edited and translated by E. L. G. Stones. [Medieval Texts.] ([Edinburgh:] Nelson; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1965. Pp. lvi, Latin, 182, English 182, 185-98. \$13.45.)

OF these forty-two documents, only ten are printed for the first time, and these replace incomplete editions or calendars already in print. Three other documents are taken from better manuscripts than the ones used by their original editors, and four could otherwise be consulted only in relatively obscure books. How valuable the improvement of some texts will be for the historian depends partially upon his purposes, but a comparison of the Treaty of Falaise of 1174 with the text printed in Rymer's *Foedera* hardly bears out Professor Stones's general condemnation of Rymer's version as "unsatisfactory" and "imperfect." Nevertheless, there are three substantial changes: the insertion of a *non* that determines which group of Scottish barons might be asked to provide hostages to Henry II of England; the addition of a phrase concerning the possible use of an interdict to give sanction to the treaty; and the appending of a longer list of witnesses while omitting one witness given by Rymer's source. Similarly, the comparison of Document 34 with the printed version by Riley in the Rolls Series shows freer use of conjectural restorations, but scarcely warrants the assertion that it had been printed

"incompletely and with many errors." The reader would obtain the same meaning from either edition, but with some real gain in the deciphering of place names, including one in a key sentence.

In fact, the value of this book lies not primarily in the documents newly printed nor in textual improvements, welcome as both of these may be, but in the convenience of the collection, the parallel translation, and the editor's notes that make the documents easily usable. Such historical themes as the relation of the two crowns, Scottish claims to the northern counties of England, relation of the churches in the two kingdoms, and papal policies toward the church in Scotland are illustrated. The editor's selection of documents is admirable, and he has set an example in listing the most important omissions with guidance to where they may be found. The translation is clear and reads smoothly; anyone who might need a more literal interpretation can easily consult the original Latin or French on the opposite page. Concise notes that provide identifications also guide the reader to shades of meaning and reveal the editor as a scholar with an extensive grasp of the subject.

The value of making documents on this subject widely available and providing a translation should be self-evident. That some of them also illustrate the conduct of medieval diplomacy should be mentioned. A memorandum of the advice given Edward I about how to answer a papal bull of Boniface VIII or letters exchanged by Edward II and his ambassadors while they were carrying on negotiations are types of evidence rarely preserved for medieval international relations. For a book so thoroughly justified by what it does, there is no need for the artificial emphasis upon the novelty of the documents printed. Such emphasis only strikes a false note in a book that is a worthy addition to a distinguished series.

Duke University

CHARLES R. YOUNG

HISTORY AND HERALDRY, 1254 TO 1310: A STUDY OF THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE ROLLS OF ARMS. By *N. Denholm-Young*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 182. \$4.80.)

WHILE heraldry today thrives mostly upon snobbism, in the Middle Ages it was thoroughly functional. When knights encased themselves in armor from head to toe, they were recognizable only by the insignia they wore upon their shields or their surcoats. With thousands of such insignia to be distinguished, professional heralds were needed, and by the mid-thirteenth century they had begun to make records of the arms they knew. Some rolls of arms derive from specific events, tournaments, or battles; the derivation of others, generally the most elaborate, painted rolls, is not so obvious.

In this book Mr. Denholm-Young has sought to place the earlier English rolls of arms in their historical context. He connects some with magnates who might have had their own heralds, others with places where heralds might have been in residence. His discussion is too disorganized and fragmentary to say that he has proved his case in any except the origin of the Dering roll at Dover, but he has provided useful leads for others to pursue. It is also his intention to show the value of the rolls as historical sources. He believes one can be connected with Simon de Montfort, others with the Ordainers under Edward II. If this were demonstrated, the rolls would offer useful evidence of the parties in the constitu-

tional struggles of the Edwardian Age. One suspects that Denholm-Young is correct in at least some instances and that with more care he could have made his case, but it will be necessary to establish the connections more carefully and conclusively than is done here. Much of what he writes incidentally, especially on the Edwardian armies, is highly significant and will be of interest to specialists in the period. It is necessary to say, however, that the book is marred by a number of minor errors.

University of Connecticut

FRED A. CAZEL, JR.

ROBERT BRUCE AND THE COMMUNITY OF THE REALM IN SCOTLAND. By *G. W. S. Barrow*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1965. Pp. xxiv, 502. \$7.50.)

IN this splendid book Professor Barrow has undertaken not so much to write a biography of Robert Bruce as to re-examine the period of the Scottish wars of independence. The author begins his narrative with the accidental death of King Alexander III in 1286 and ends it with the Treaty of Edinburgh in 1328, in which England finally admitted its failure to conquer its northern neighbor, fourteen years after that failure had been made manifest to all the world at the Battle of Bannockburn, the subject of a brilliant chapter. The book is the product of the most meticulous and exacting kind of research. Barrow has read and reflected upon everything of importance, including a good many documents recently discovered, chiefly by Professor A. A. M. Duncan, whose edition of Robert I's acts will shortly appear. The result is a most convincing reinterpretation of the period, and the demolition of several hoary misconceptions. The most persistent of these is the notion that Scottish aristocrats were either inactive or pro-English because they feared the confiscation of their English estates if they opposed Edward I; Barrow has shown that, for most of the period of the war, the aristocracy led the opposition to Edward. A second, somewhat less persistent misconception is that of William Wallace as a "democratic leader in a war of precocious proletarian nationalism"; Wallace was in fact a conservative-minded member of the knightly class, heroic but unimaginative. It was Bruce, not Wallace, who devised the guerrilla tactics that ultimately wore the English down. Barrow also explodes the myth that it was Celtic Scotland rather than the "Teutonic" lowlands that won the kingdom's independence.

Barrow is more than just a destroyer of legends, however. His most important positive contribution lies in his emphasis on the concept of the community of the realm, a phrase that he defines as "the totality of the king's free subjects, but also something more than this: it meant the political entity in which they and the king were comprehended." This was a living idea to the politically active classes in Scotland, as is evidenced by the various experiments in guardianship during the periods when there was no king, or when, for whatever reason, the king could not govern for himself, and by the fact that, in the early days of Bruce's reign, before success had sanctified his claim to the throne, his opponents of the Bal-liol-Comyn party claimed that they, rather than Bruce, spoke for the community.

For the professional historian the most admirable aspect of this book is the extraordinary skill with which the author handles documents. He subjects many of them to minute analysis, but never in the plodding and pedantic fashion that has

so often anesthetized us all. He takes us into his confidence and makes us play detective along with him, and so causes us to share some of the excitement and delight of his discoveries. And, wonder of wonders, he does not even interrupt the narrative in so doing; he uses his analysis to carry the story along. This formidable literary skill, combined with his scholarly grasp, makes this book both profoundly important and a great pleasure to read. It is a truly distinguished piece of work.

University of Illinois

MAURICE LEE, JR.

THE LAWS OF WAR IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES. By M. H. Keen.
[Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1965.
Pp. xi, 291. \$7.50.)

It has long been commonplace to say that European life in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was shaped by war and plague. The interest presented by a study of the laws of war in these centuries is therefore obvious. Fortunately, Keen has conceived his study broadly, making it much more than a mere catalogue of legal antiquities. His breadth of understanding is much greater than the modesty of his title and style would suggest, and he has produced one of the best books on medieval law to appear in recent years. The theme of his work is the way the law of arms "helped to establish two very important legal principles" (political principles would be more accurate): "that war, in its proper sense, could only be waged by sovereigns," and "that in war soldiers though they served different lords, were yet bound by certain general and known rules of conduct." He is thus concerned with law not as an abstract self-existent entity but as an expression of the political and social ideas of the military nobility of France and England, a subject of enormous importance for anyone interested in how medieval monarchy became the monarchy of the sixteenth century. His most interesting conclusion appears in the first chapter, "The Legal Basis of the Law of Arms": the authority behind the law of arms and the knight's code of honor was nothing else but the texts and commentaries of canon and civil law. The chivalric code, of which the heralds and knights "learned in the law of arms" were guardians, thus turns out to be one of the vehicles by which the political ideas of the glossators entered the mental world of the only real political class in France and England. This conclusion is amply demonstrated in the remainder of the book as Keen discusses in turn the procedure and authority of military courts, the legal theory of just war as it appeared in the glossators and other writers (such as Christine de Pisan) and in cases tried before the Parlement and other courts, the problems raised by sieges, ransom, truces, letters of marque, and other forms of involvement in or immunity from war. His sources are legal, theological, and chivalric writings and cases taken from the records of Parlement and other courts.

The book has one major fault, however, and, given Keen's significant conclusions, it is a highly annoying fault. The study is, in a strange way, unhistorical. By treating his subject topically, he has fused together material from two centuries. Now and then he states that a certain rule first appeared at a certain time, but, for the most part, he gives little sense of change and development. Thus, though his implicit theme is the development of chivalric political conceptions through the laws of war, he gives little idea either of the chronology of this development or of the mechanisms that brought it about. Who made the law? Who, especially, was

responsible for bringing glossators' ideas of sovereignty into the actual legal world of the medieval knight? The influence of the monarchy and its lawyers, for example, especially by means of its courts, is constantly implied by his sources, but never fully explored. But it is to the author's credit that he has raised this important, and novel, question.

Amherst College

FREDRIC L. CHEYETTE

Modern Europe

DIE FRANZÖSISCHE REVOLUTION IN EUROPÄISCHEN SCHULBÜCHERN: EINE VERGLEICHENDE SCHULBUCHANALYSE. By *Rolf-Joachim Sattler*. [Schriftenreihe des Internationalen Schulbuchinstituts, Number 4.] (Brunswick: Albert Limbach Verlag. 1959. Pp. 270.)

DIE DEUTSCHE SOZIALPOLITIK DES 19. JAHRHUNDERTS IM SPIEGEL DER SCHULGESCHICHTSBÜCHER. By *Jürgen Heinel*. [Schriftenreihe des Internationalen Schulbuchinstituts, Number 6.] (Brunswick: Albert Limbach Verlag. 1962. Pp. 108.)

THESE two publications of the International Textbook Institute are pioneering ventures in comparative textbook analysis, a relatively new field of research in which historians must yet formulate a methodology. They testify to the growing desire of many historians of Western Europe to re-examine their textbooks in the hope of reconciling divergent viewpoints and of arriving, if possible, at mutually acceptable interpretations. Indeed, the initiative for writing the first book—a study of the French Revolution as reflected in the secondary textbooks of Western Europe—came from the Textbook Committee of the Council of Europe, which also set forth its primary purpose: “to extract [from them] all those traits which are relevant to a European concept of history.” In a comprehensive examination of twenty-four standard secondary textbooks—five French, five German, five Italian, five English, and one Irish—Rolf-Joachim Sattler compares their selection and organization of materials, their different approaches, and their agreements and disagreements in interpretation. To illustrate the variations in interpretation, he lets the textbooks “speak for themselves” by including numerous citations from them. Of paramount importance to him is their treatment of the European involvement in the Revolution. But he makes no attempt to isolate or list those common elements in their interpretations which, when considered together, might elucidate the “European concept of history.”

The book by Jürgen Heinel examines 118 German and 29 non-German secondary history textbooks, in use since 1900, in an attempt to determine how adequately they deal with the German social movements of the nineteenth century. He found that the textbooks of Imperial Germany, in the period 1900–1918, devoted little space to a critical examination of social problems, but preferred to emphasize, within the framework of dynastic history, such topics as the wars of liberation, the deeds of Prussian kings, and the struggle for unification. The textbooks of the Weimar Republic, on the contrary, de-emphasized dynastic history and accorded the social question a much fuller treatment. The completely revised Nazi textbooks, with their emphasis on race and anti-Communism, stressed

the alien Jewish influences, Marxian, in particular, that contaminated the German social movements. The textbooks of the present Federal German Republic resemble those of the Weimar Republic and give "the most complete and balanced description of the social problem." Non-German interpretations of the German social problem are quite similar except for differences in length. In explaining the great variations in the German textbooks during the past fifty years, Heinel observes that history textbooks are primarily dependent on the state, secondarily on historical research, and least of all on pedagogical considerations. These books make a distinct contribution to the field of comparative textbook analysis and prepare the way, it is hoped, for similar studies on textbooks in other areas of history.

University of Maryland

RICHARD H. BAUER

THE WAR OF THE SECOND COALITION, 1798 TO 1801: A STRATEGIC COMMENTARY. By *A. B. Rodger*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. 312. \$7.70.)

IN 1798 the atmosphere in Europe was conducive to the formation of a Second Coalition against expansionist France. As Talleyrand wrote: "By our success we have astonished the universe; but by our principles we have frightened all those whose power is founded on a base which is contrary to them." Revolutionary France, lately aided by its godchild, Napoleon Bonaparte, already "had extended the military glacis of France . . . well beyond her political glacis, into areas where the French presence could be justified neither by historic right, racial or cultural identity, or even strategic necessity, and the rest of Europe did not like it." It took only a great victory, the Battle of the Nile (here graphically described), to bring the other European powers back into the arena and to give new meaning to Britain's strength at sea.

The late Professor A. B. Rodger, former dean and senior fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, provides a lucid account of the forming of the coalition, the Egyptian campaign, the exploits of the Royal Navy in the Mediterranean, and the campaigns on land that culminated in Napoleonic ascendancy at Marengo, disintegration of the coalition, and the Treaty of Amiens. It is clearly a work founded on the reflections and learning of a lifetime of scholarship, an authoritative treatise harsh but telling in its analyses and conclusions about a period seldom treated as an entity.

Following the author's death in 1961, the work was edited and a concluding chapter provided by Christopher Duffy. It contains a helpful chronology of events and a detailed bibliography.

Department of the Army

CHARLES B. MACDONALD

DIE POLITISCHE KORRESPONDENZ DER PÄPSTE MIT DEN ÖSTERREICHISCHEN KAISERN, 1804-1918. By *Friedrich Engel-Janosi*, in collaboration with *Richard Blaas* and *Erika Weinzierl*. [Forschungen zur Kirchengeschichte Österreichs, Number 2.] (Vienna: Verlag Herold. 1964. Pp. xxvii, 434. Sch. 290.)

PROFESSOR Engel-Janosi, acknowledged authority on Habsburg-Vatican relations in modern times, has joined two distinguished archivists in presenting a collection

of more than two hundred letters exchanged by the Austrian emperors and the popes from 1804 to 1918. The letters, virtually all of them preserved in the Vienna archive, are presented with the utmost care and pietas and are provided with an introduction that is so successful in describing their contents and their historical significance that many readers may not wish to examine the documents. Those who are brave enough to do so may find that the general impression created by the variety of languages—much curial Latin and Italian, some French, and a very little German—and the stylized accents used in the communication of such august personages is disappointing; they may well seem more curious than interesting. But perseverance here, as everywhere, will have its reward, and, as one reads on, human beings suddenly emerge from the formulas: Pius IX complaining in a postscript *manu propria* of his ill-treatment at Austrian hands; Francis Joseph trying to win some understanding of the problems faced by a constitutional monarch with Liberal ministers, and the pious Empress Maria Anna correcting the unfortunate impression created by a letter written for her by Metternich.

Two great themes naturally dominate the correspondence: Church-state relations within the Austrian monarchy and the interplay of Austrian and Vatican interests in Europe with special emphasis on Italy. These themes take on different forms according to the times: in the first forty years the talk is largely directed to the fate of Josephinism and the need for a joint effort of "Altar and Throne"; in the reign of Pius IX it shifts to the concordat of 1855 (and its subsequent career) and the temporal power; while in the last period Emperor and Pope react in rather different ways to the growth of nationalism in Austria and to the existence of the new Italy. Perhaps Engel-Janosi goes too far when he suggests that a knowledge of these relations (and, by implication, these letters) is crucial for an understanding of the history of modern Austria, but no one can deny that these documents convey, as no other source possibly could, the exact tone of the interaction of empire and papacy in its final phase. At the beginning of the correspondence the Pope is very much the humble petitioner, and the Austrians rejoice in a truly extraordinary influence at Rome; by the time we have reached the final telegram from Benedict XV to Charles I the situation is quite reversed. The Empire, far gone in dissolution and incapable of *aggiornamento*, exits from the scene, leaving the papacy the sole surviving participant of an age-old dialogue.

University of California, Berkeley

WILLIAM B. SLOTTMAN

LET'TRES ADRESSÉES À LA MAISON ROTHSCHILD DE PARIS PAR
SON REPRÉSENTANT À BRUXELLES. Volume II, (L'ÉPOQUE DES
SUSCEPTIBILITÉS) 1843-1853. Presented and annotated by *Bertrand Gille*.
[Centre Interuniversitaire d'Histoire Contemporaine. Cahiers, Number 33.]
(Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts, 1963. Pp. xviii, 400. 500 fr. B.)

SOME six hundred years ago Francesco Datini, the merchant of Prato, affixed this motto to the head of his ledgers: "In the name of God and of profit." Five hundred years later Ferdinand Meeus, who managed with a high hand the Belgian *Société Générale*, wrote to James Rothschild that he and his company wished to undertake only those enterprises which promised to bring both honor and profit. Baron James obviously found the sentiment admirable for, a few days later, he declared "nous ne voulons bien décidément entreprendre ces affaires qu'avec la

conviction d'en sortir à la fois avec honneur et avantage." Since all three of these enterprising individuals did better than all right, we presume that their eye for profit remained undimmed to the end, and since their business morals were at least as good as the average of their age, we must assume that they found favor in the sight of the Lord.

Gille's second volume of Louis Richtenberger's letters from Brussels to the House of Rothschild in Paris picks up in January 1843, two years after the last letter in Volume I. The lost record of those two years finds some compensation in the inclusion for the 1850's of several instructions (in footnotes) from Baron James to his agent. Earlier one could only guess at such instructions from the agent's reply. As before, these letters are largely concerned with Rothschild's dealings with the Belgian treasury and with his frequent if somewhat uneasy relations with Meeus. They afford revealing evidence of the financial boom in 1846 when the rapid growth of railroads was stimulating coal and iron stocks and of the recession that followed. Richtenberger accepted the frequent if unmerited reproaches from his excitable chief with admirable patience and continued his tireless work as agent until a few months before his death in 1853. There is an index of names covering both volumes.

University of Vermont

PAUL D. EVANS

LE RELAZIONI DIPLOMATICHE FRA IL REGNO DI SARDEGNA E LA GRAN BRETAGNA. Third Series, 1848-1860. Volume III (1 GENNAIO 1850-28 FEBBRAIO 1851); Volume IV (1 MARZO 1851-3 NOVEMBRE 1852). Edited by *Federico Curato*. [Documenti per la Storia delle Relazioni Diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze Europee e gli Stati Italiani 1814-1860. Part 1, Documenti Italiani. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1964. Pp. xix, 353; 365. L. 4,000 each.)

LE RELAZIONI DIPLOMATICHE TRA IL REGNO DELLE DUE SICILIE E IL REGNO DI PRUSSIA. Third Series, 1848-1860. Volume I (22 GENNAIO 1848-7 AGOSTO 1860). Edited by *Giuseppe Coniglio*. [Documenti per la Storia delle Relazioni Diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze Europee e gli Stati Italiani 1814-1860. Part 1, Documenti Italiani. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1964. Pp. xv, 282. L. 4,000.)

THE volumes on Anglo-Sardinian relations are a continuation of the excellent series begun by Federico Curato in 1955 (*AHR*, LXVII [Apr. 1962], 691) in which he has been editing selected Sardinian correspondence dealing with English relations. There is here a selection of about 350 documents chosen mainly from the official papers of the diplomatic correspondence in the *Archivio di Stato di Torino* and the *Archivio Storico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri* in Rome. The documents not only have been well chosen; they have been edited with such precision that even every textual error has been carefully reproduced. The present volumes, covering the years 1850-1852, contain much valuable information on such subjects as British domestic politics, the Anglo-Tuscan dispute, the Don Pacifico affair, slave trade negotiations, an Anglo-Sardinian commercial treaty, the question of the inclusion of Lombardy and Venetia in the German Confed-

eration, the Siccardi laws in Sardinia, the Catholic bishoprics in England, and the excitement over Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* in France. One interesting item shows that Palmerston favored Louis Napoleon's continuation in office as early as two months before the latter's *coup d'état*. These volumes will also be valuable for any future biographical studies of such men as Emanuele and Massimo d'Azeglio, Granville, Palmerston, Russell, Walewski, and Drouyn de Lhuys.

The volume edited by Giuseppe Coniglio contains the Neapolitan correspondence with its ministers in Berlin and Frankfurt. This single volume constitutes another subseries in the "Fonti per la Storia d'Italia." Its 275 documents, selected from the Esteri collection in the *Archivio di Stato di Napoli*, cover only half of the years from 1848 to 1860. What is disconcerting is the omission of all correspondence between 1851 and 1858, except two dispatches. Although we are told that few documents were missing in the archives and that in omitted years there was little other than administrative and bookkeeping reports, some of the political reports should have been published for the neglected six years. These years saw Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état*, the Holy Places controversy, the outbreak and course of the Crimean War, and all the deliberations at the Congress of Paris in 1856. The last involved the Neapolitan Bourbon regime, and, what is more, the Two Sicilies were right on the route to the Near East. Likewise, Prussia was concerned with the whole Crimean War crisis. It would seem, therefore, that some of the Neapolitan reports from Berlin during these omitted years ought to be worth inclusion. While in general Coniglio follows the high requirements of the "Fonti" series, the above omissions are rare exceptions to its usual standards, as also are some proofreading oversights and incomplete identifications in the index. Yet this lone volume does contain valuable material for several important episodes of mid-nineteenth-century history, such as the Revolutions of 1848 in Germany and Italy, the Austro-Sardinian War, the Villafranca armistice, the annexations in central Italy and Savoy, the Garibaldi expedition, and, alas, the very downfall of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies itself. The last three pages of this volume remind us that the fall of a kingdom brings with it the closing of its many diplomatic missions abroad. In the last report from Berlin the Neapolitan minister expressed pained surprise that "France and the other powers . . . would resign themselves to be eyewitnesses of the assassination of our throne and our nationality." Thus a volume, a mission, and a kingdom came to an end.

University of Pennsylvania

LYNN M. CASE

NAPOLÉON III, L'EUROPE ET LA POLOGNE EN 1863-4. By *Stanisław Bóbr-Tylingo*. [Antemurale 1863-1963, Numbers 7-8.] (Rome: Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae. 1963. Pp. 362. L. 3,500.)

For a diplomatic study on a limited subject this is one of the best I have ever read. The author has undertaken exhaustive research in the Foreign Ministry archives of Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, most of the German states, Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland. He has also utilized most of the important collections of private correspondence. His use of the printed documents and historical studies is amazingly comprehensive, with the only noticeable gaps in archival materials being those of Russia and the United States. The lack of the Russian papers is understandable because few historians have been permitted to use them since

1917, and, besides, the author has been able to find much on the Russian position in the archives of the other powers. Although the role of the United States was less important, the author used the American printed collections. One private collection, Palmerston's, was missed, although it has been available in recent years in two repositories in London.

The resulting study on Europe and the Polish insurrection is about as definitive as one can make it without the Russian papers. The author, by his thoroughness, has transformed the Polish insurrection from an unsuccessful secondary movement into the pivotal diplomatic question of the period. By a great feat of organization he has arranged the diplomatic account with unusual clarity, relating this small Eastern European uprising to the great questions around the world involving Denmark, Italy, Rumania, Serbia, Turkey, Persia, Japan, the Mexican expedition, and the American Civil War as well as Austro-Prussian rivalry, the French search for allies, and Britain's concern for a French disturbance of the balance of power. Not only is there no confusion in his recounting of all the correspondence exchanged among the large and small states, but Bóbr-Tylingo weaves in a treatment of public opinion, the press, the parliamentary debates, and even the stock market fluctuations without interrupting the smooth flow of his narrative.

Since Napoleon III was at the center of the problem as far as Western Europe was concerned, much of this study is concerned with French policy. France was sympathetic toward the Polish uprising not only because of its traditional ties with Poland but also because of Poland's Roman Catholic religion and the possibility of making the new Polish state an ally of France to the east of a rising Prussia. France's European position in the balance of power would be greatly enhanced by an independent Poland. Yet Napoleon III's attempts to obtain a coalition strong enough to gain his ends were thwarted by Russia's resistance, Austria's hesitancy, England's suspicions, and by his own public opinion at home, which insisted that France help Poland without going to war alone. The result was French humiliation and isolation with Napoleon III's secrets still remaining a mystery. At no point can I disagree with the author's interpretations, and I can only recommend this work as a very valuable addition to the diplomatic history of the Second Empire period.

University of Pennsylvania

LYNN M. CASE

MICHEL BAKOUNINE ET L'ITALIE, 1871-1872. Part 2, LA PREMIÈRE INTERNATIONALE EN ITALIE ET LE CONFLIT AVEC MARX: ÉCRITS ET MATERIAUX. Text edited and annotated by *Arthur Lehning*. [Archives Bakounine, Volume I.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill for the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam. 1963. Pp. lxxvii, 500.)

With the second part of Volume I of "Archives Bakounine," the International Institute continues its work of supplementing the six-volume *Oeuvres* published between 1895 and 1913 (see *AHR*, LXVIII [Oct. 1962], 222). The editing and presentation remain on the same high level as for Part One. While Part One was devoted mainly to versions and drafts of Bakunin's *La Théologie politique de Maz-*

zini et l'Internationale (1871), Part Two consists of letters and uncompleted articles from the period October 1871–March 1872.

The texts are divided roughly equally into continuation of the polemic with Mazzini, who died in March, and discussion of the problems of Marx and the International, which was to hold its last congress in the same year. The appendixes supply documentation on the struggles within the International. Scholars acquainted with Bakunin's work are unlikely to find anything surprising in Part Two. The vigor of style tends to contradict the usual thesis that Bakunin was now, at fifty-eight, a weary old man. Against Mazzini's theological socialism, Bakunin's arguments were forceful and effective; in dealing with Marxism, he was obviously handicapped by his acceptance of Marx's historical premises and his lack of Marx's arsenal of historical and economic information, and by the fact that he was trying to set against Marx's unified system the intuitive thesis that uniformity in doctrine, Marx's "my ideas," was itself authoritarian and antisocialist. The repressive post-Commune political climate and Bakunin's uncertainty about the wisdom of public controversy with the Marxists seem responsible for the fragmentary character of the writings intended for publication.

Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute

DAVID THOREAU WIECK

MICHEL BAKOUNINE ET LES CONFLITS DANS L'INTERNATIONALE, 1872: LA QUESTION GERMANO-SLAVE; LE COMMUNISME D'ÉTAT. ÉCRITS ET MATÉRIAUX. Texts edited and annotated by *Arthur Lehning*. [Archives Bakounine, Volume II.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill for the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam. 1965. Pp. lxvii, 492. Glds. 72.)

THE struggle between the Bakuninist and Marxist factions within the First International became particularly intense after the Congress of Basle (1869) and reached its apogee at the time of the Congress of The Hague (1872). The heart of this important volume consists of twelve texts dating from the year 1872 that bear directly on this struggle and that present Bakunin's views with the utmost clarity. The most significant of these texts are perhaps Bakunin's hitherto unpublished manuscripts "Aux compagnons de la Fédération des sections internationales du Jura" and "L'Allemagne et le communisme d'État" and the reprinting of his "Écrit contre Marx." In these three pieces Bakunin not only argues his case against Karl Marx as an "authoritarian socialist" and "Pan-Germanist," but he also discloses his own brand of racism, particularly discernible in his discussion of the activities and influence of the Jews in nineteenth-century Europe. This volume also contains eleven appendixes made up of fifty-four documents that relate directly or indirectly to the Bakuninist-Marxist struggle, including letters, articles, notes, and reports by such notables as Marx, Engels, César De Paepe, and James Guillaume, together with a variety of materials relevant to the work of the congresses of the International from 1865 to 1872.

The editing is admirable in every respect, and students of the First International are indeed indebted to the International Institute for Social History for producing this valuable book.

City College of New York

AARON NOLAND

LA QUESTIONE MAROCCHINA E GLI ACCORDI ITALO-SPAGNOLI DEL 1887 E DEL 1891. Volume II, DAL GIUGNO 1888 ALL'AGOSTO 1896. By *Federico Curato*. (Milan: Edizioni di Comunità. 1964. Pp. 667. L. 5,000.)

THE initial Mediterranean agreements, those of 1887, left France alone among the European powers outside the network of connections woven around the center of Berlin. In the case of the western Mediterranean equilibrium, of Morocco especially, the exclusion of France constituted an inherent vice in the arrangement. Italy, Spain, and Britain did indeed have a common anti-French interest, but they also had differences among themselves, and the possibility existed that one of them might find it convenient to come to terms directly with France. It was, after all, difficult to deny that the French interest in Morocco was as important and legitimate as some others.

The weakness of the scheme thus lay in the reluctance of its participants to assume the main burden of resistance to French encroachment. Italy chafed at its weakness and Spain even more so, especially when that country sensed a patronizing attitude in the former. If the Germans could regard Spain as a *quantité négligeable*, the blustering Crispi had less justification for such an attitude. When the agreement was renewed in 1891, Spain insisted on a position of parity in the commitment not to make any agreement with France.

The details of Moroccan affairs, traced in exhaustive detail, may appear of small intrinsic significance, but they insert themselves into the fluid and fast-changing larger European canvas where German diplomatic predominance was giving place to equilibrium. This was perhaps best reflected in a (seemingly) somnolent attitude on the part of the chief guardian of the European balance, Britain. Curato places much of the blame for the failure to renew the Italo-Spanish agreement in 1895 on the unwarranted intransigence of the Italian Foreign Minister, Alberto Blanc. For this interpretation he makes a good case, but the larger picture was of greater importance: Britain had lost interest.

Any further attempts to revive the Italo-Spanish connection in the face of the Adua disaster and of Spain's beginning troubles in Cuba were altogether hopeless; no one in Europe had any intention of underwriting Spain's position in the Caribbean. The conditions were maturing in which the patient skill of French diplomacy would begin to reap its rewards. To sum up this able, thorough, and judicious study (Volume I reviewed in *AHR*, LXVII [July 1962], 1099), one can do no better than quote Curato's own words: "The Italo-Spanish union is the union of two weak ones against the stronger, but neither of the weak ones is interested in Moroccan independence for his own purposes. . . . The two united powers are rivals, competitors, jealous of each other and each regards with suspicion any initiative taken by the other." This study of futility may be regarded as definitive.

Barnard College

RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ

THE EUROPEAN RIGHT: A HISTORICAL PROFILE. *Hans Rogger* and *Eugen Weber*, Editors. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1965. Pp. vi, 589. \$9.50.)

THE European Right does not have the identity and doctrinal commitment of the

Left. This fact has complicated the study of the Right, but at the same time has made it more challenging. The Right cannot trace its origins to one clearly marked school of thought; nor can it look toward any one center of orientation, as the various Internationals could. We are, to begin with at least, confronted with varieties of the European Right and with different national manifestations of it. There are no *a priori* notions that would explain it and, in particular, account for the occurrence of the radical Right of the twentieth century; hence a challenge to the historian to make order out of a complex interplay of historical forces.

In recent years more and more scholars have begun to study the European Right in its national contexts. Meanwhile attempts have been made at allover interpretations. Notable among the latter are Ernst Nolte's *Three Faces of Fascism*, a brilliant, tightly argued interpretation of the "epoch" of fascism, to appear in America early in 1966, and the present work, which is a cooperative effort on the part of some of the leading authorities in the field. This book, in contrast to Nolte's, errs on the side of laxness and diversity of approaches. Up to a certain point this is inevitable where various authors are involved. But one would expect that a volume of this kind would accomplish more than a mere review of different national contexts, that it would in fact reach new frontiers in our understanding of the European Right. While the editors in the introductory essay (Eugen Weber) and in the "Afterthoughts" (Hans Rogger) have attempted to define terms, distinguish between and classify Rightist movements, and elaborate their basic tenets (their relationship to class, nation, race, their propensity for myth, leadership, youth), the rather uneven essays often fail to reach this level of analysis. To achieve a meeting of minds, symposia of this kind may need not only general instructions, but also actual working sessions. To reach new insights, moreover, they demand of the historian a considerable amount of conceptualizing. Mere historical narrative, like that given in the chapter on Austria, should be out of place here. In this respect the most distinguished essays are, in my opinion, Nolte's on Germany and István Deák's on Hungary.

The title of the book seems ambiguous. If the book's purpose is to trace the new Right of the twentieth century, the title should say so. In effect this volume deals with a phase in modern history in which the terms Right and Left have lost much of their meaning. Radical, totalitarian tendencies of the European Right as well as the Left have for all practical purposes obviated the interplay between Right and Left. What remains are, in the terms of Albert Camus, two forms of terror: irrational and rational. It might be added that in Europe after the Second World War, a bona fide Right re-emerged in the form of Christian Democracy on the Continent, but this work ignores it. The various contributions, except understandably the interesting one on England, are infatuated with the catastrophic turn of events in twentieth-century Europe.

Altogether, *The European Right* is a very useful handbook, well written, instructive, stimulating. But the lack of cohesion, of a common denominator within the new Right, is after all too readily accepted throughout. Similar notions of history, common spiritual horizons (the so-called "conservative revolution"), psychological traits (fear, friend-foe relationships), the class structure (in particular the role of the lower middle classes) ought to be systematically explored. The "international dimensions" of this political current, moreover, should not be left unexplored. Finally, the continental new Right of the 1920's and 1930's has mean-

while found interesting echoes in some of the emerging nations of Asia and Africa, and, alas, in the United States of the 1960's.

Smith College

KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER

CORRESPONDANCE ENTRE LÉNINE ET CAMILLE HUYSMANS, 1905-1914. Documents chosen and presented by *Georges Haupt*. Preface by *Camille Huysmans*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^e Section, Sciences économiques et sociales, Paris; Institut Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, Milan. Matériaux pour l'histoire du socialisme international, First Series. Textes et documents, Number 1.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1963. Pp. 164.)

OF these 135 documents from the correspondence of Camille Huysmans, when he was secretary of the Bureau of the Socialist International, the majority are letters, the remainder, enclosures (declarations and programmatic statements), most of them written by Lenin, most of them brief, and for the most part published here for the first time. Not all of Lenin's letters to Huysmans have survived, but their contents are known from the summaries, reprinted here, in the Register of Correspondence kept by the BSI. A few others have been damaged to a degree made clear by the text.

Georges Haupt has edited these documents with common sense and considerable industry, except that he sometimes leaves the reader wondering whether a misspelling is Lenin's or the printer's. He has provided equally sensible introductions to the volume as a whole and to each of its four chapters, explaining the provenance of the documents and the issues raised in them. He has also described the work of the BSI and outlined Huysmans' career and achievement in an effort to offset somewhat the volume's natural emphasis on Lenin's struggle against the Mensheviks, Rosa Luxemburg, and the German Social Democrats.

The editor's chief conclusion is a refutation of Stalin's assertion that Lenin wished to break with the Second International long before 1914. These documents testify to Lenin's readiness—or even eagerness, if we think of the years 1907-1911—to work with an institution representing all shades of international socialism and to use the advantages that such affiliation conferred on the Bolsheviks. To be sure, in 1912, after having circulated the Prague program as a program of the whole RSDLP (which his position as the RSDLP's delegate to the BSI enabled him to do), he was severely attacked by the moderates, which temporarily at least soured him and even discredited Huysmans in his eyes. But during the next year and a half he again loyally prepared for another round of attempts by the BSI to mend the rift between the Russian factions. In these documents, as well as in the editor's comments, the harshness of Leninism appears muffled, although inevitably its basic tenor emerges: Russian conditions compelled an effective Russian Marxist party to operate underground. Throughout Lenin claimed a superior knowledge of revolutionary working conditions under an autocratic regime.

These documents are presented in a manner most helpful to researchers in the history of the Second International and of the Russian Social Democratic Labor party. Again thanks to the editor they are also useful to less specialized students of these subjects. The introduction written by Huysmans himself merely testifies

to the fact that at the age of ninety-two a man's memory and judgment are not what they were half a century earlier.

Washington University

THEODORE H. VON LAUE

DIE DEUTSCHE POLITIK IN LITAUEN IM ERSTEN WELTKRIEG. By Gerd Linde. [Schriften der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Osteuropaforschung der Universität Münster.] (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. 1965. Pp. xiii, 265. DM 35.)

GERMAN occupation of Lithuania in 1915 opened a Pandora's box of conflicting nationalist aspirations. Within Germany the *Reichsleitung* and the *Reichstag* democratic elements offered varying kinds of opposition to the openly annexationist designs of Ludendorff. The Prussian and Saxon royal houses each laid claim to Lithuania, while Erzberger, representing the Catholic Center, made it his business to protect the Lithuanians from Protestant rule. Germany's Polish policy, moreover, had to concern itself with that of its ally, Austria, further muddling the Lithuanian question. Within the conquered area Lithuanian nationalism contended with that of Poland, the two nations' banner-bearing clergy eventually involving the pope in the dispute by way of Nuncio Pacelli of Munich, later Pius XII. At the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations Lithuania was a major pawn in the dreary chess match that Trotsky tried so hard to stalemate, as Central Powers and Bolsheviks both employed the gambit of pseudo self-determination.

After Germany's defeat in the west, Lithuania, defended by a few thousand men, became a chaotic battleground of Polish, German, and Bolshevik forces. On the diplomatic side, the French desire to strengthen Poland ran counter to United States pro-Lithuanian policy, influenced to a great extent by Lithuanian *émigrés* in this country. At the same time, Allied intervention on the side of the Russian Whites militated against the establishment of Lithuania's independence.

Gerd Linde's book relates nothing new that is important. But his painstaking documentation based on all extant archival (Austrian as well as German) and published materials adds dimension to many sides of this complicated story. Equally praiseworthy are Linde's judgment and objectivity. His conclusion declares among other things that the concept of national self-determination "was then—and has since remained—nothing more than a tactical device meant to justify a policy of might makes right in the face of international opinion."

City College of New York

STANLEY W. PAGE

BARBAROSSA: THE RUSSIAN-GERMAN CONFLICT, 1941-45. By Alan Clark. (New York: William Morrow and Company. 1965. Pp. xxii, 522. \$10.00.)

WORKS of synthesis on the 1941-1945 war in Russia are rare, and a reading of Alan Clark's book, one of the best, helps to explain why this is so. On many counts it is a highly successful effort. Few others—Alexander Werth's recent *Russia at War* is one—have portrayed so well the horror, the immensity, the futility of this vast holocaust: the human misery and barbarism, the prodigal waste of life and wealth, the sheer numbers of men, miles, deaths, and other measurable elements involved.

Clark leaves one with an unforgettable image of the majestic procession of campaigns, each with its army groups and "fronts," its armies and corps, its scores of divisions, thousands of tanks, and anonymous millions of soldiers. His analysis of strategy on the German side, while generally unrevisionist (he leans, without going all the way, toward the pro-Hitler school), is lucid and well reasoned, especially good on the chaotic interplay of ambition and enmity among the various power centers within the ruling German hierarchy. Many readers will share his candid admiration for Guderian, on whose memoirs he leans perhaps too heavily. Nor does he neglect the historic determinants of warfare in Russia: distance, primitive communications, mud, wind, and the terrible, killing cold. Clark is best, in short, in conveying impressions, and his writing, always professionally competent (despite occasional grammatical carelessness), sometimes brilliant, is an effective instrument for the purpose.

The book's defects lie in the journalistic short cuts used to squeeze between two covers so vast a story and theme. Major segments of the drama are either glossed over or omitted altogether, starting with the background of events in spring 1941, and including the Kharkov-Rostov and Crimean operations of late 1941, the Soviet winter offensive of 1942, most of the campaign of 1944, the Finnish campaign in its entirety, and most of the satellite armies' operations in the south. To compensate for these massive omissions, the reader gets much detailed and colorful writing, some of which, notably the account of the great Stalingrad drama, makes very good reading. But there are also many trivia about high-level Nazi intrigue (though little about the German war economy) and much unnecessary quoting from the *Führer* conference transcripts, and a historian is likely to find the price, on balance, too high. Clark's strategic analysis is, moreover, overgeneralized and imprecise, resembling the broad-shafted arrows and bold type that substitute for place names and other useful information on the book's inadequate and scarce maps. Curiously, geography seems hardly to have a place in his view of the strategy of this far-ranging war. There are perfunctory allusions to the Pripet Marshes and to Caucasus oil, but one looks in vain for an analysis of the strategic significance of the great river barriers, the Smolensk river gap, the industries of the Donetz and the Don, and other basic facts of Russian geography. Finally, a historian must note that, except for scattered citations of archival material and such standard published sources as the *Führer* conferences and the Nuremberg Trial records, this book leans heavily on postwar secondary sources, mainly the memoirs of German generals. Clark does not appear to have used any of the German military records or interview material already extensively exploited by US Army historians. On the Soviet side, of course, the record is thin. Clark evidently has used most of what little is available, including the official histories now beginning to be published.

Industrial College of the Armed Forces

RICHARD M. LEIGHTON

CARDINAL BAINBRIDGE IN THE COURT OF ROME, 1509 TO 1514. By D. S. Chambers. [Oxford Historical Series, Second Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 178.)

Mr. Chambers' succinct and scholarly account of Christopher Bainbridge's role as resident ambassador and cardinal at the court of Rome is impressive evidence

of the current historical interest in the careers of sixteenth-century bureaucrats. This most recent volume in the "Oxford Historical Series" is a welcome addition to a steadily growing list of biographies of diligent, if not always appreciated, Tudor work horses—Stephen Vaughan, Sir William Petre, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sir Thomas Smith. Cardinal Bainbridge was an important person in a story yet to be written: the evolution of the Tudor administrative mind.

Like his predecessor Morton and his successor Wolsey, but unlike the later generation of Tudor servants, Bainbridge belonged to the tradition of legally trained ecclesiastics who climbed to the pinnacle of spiritual office by their efficient and often jingoistic loyalty to the state. Trained at Bologna in the civil law, he became archdeacon of Surrey (1496), treasurer of St. Paul's (1497), Master of the Rolls (1504), bishop of Durham (1507), archbishop of York (1508), king's orator and proctor at Rome (1509), and finally was elevated to the purple in March 1511. Bainbridge was always a dutiful son of the Church, but even as a cardinal he knew that his first loyalty lay with the serene and invincible prince, Henry VIII, and he worked hard to persuade the pope to divest Louis XII of France of his regal rank and bestow the coveted title of Most Christian King upon his young master. He labored even more earnestly to organize a crusade against France in which the parvenu Tudor dynasty would join with four of the oldest governments in Europe—the papacy, the Empire, the Venetian Republic, and the united kingdoms of Aragon and Castile.

Though the English cardinal's efforts in diplomacy and papal intrigue ended in humiliation and failure and his career was cut short by death, Bainbridge's exertions pointed up a fact that was eventually of supreme importance to the religious unity of Europe: the necessity of having an English representative in the college of cardinals and a *Curia* cardinal who resided in Rome and knew the devious ways of papal politics. When Bainbridge died in 1514, very likely at the hands of a poisoner, another dutiful servant of the Tudor crown succeeded him, but when Lord Chancellor Thomas Wolsey received his red hat he chose to stay in London, close to the source of his real authority, his secular master. For twenty years England had no resident at the spiritual core of Christendom, and when Henry VIII took his great matter to Rome, there was no one of Bainbridge's training, experience, or stature to advise the pope or counter imperial influence. It was openly admitted in October 1530 that the King's divorce was being seriously impaired by "the lacke of knowledge of such thyngs as may be entreatyd yn the consistory and congregacion of cardinals. . . ." Had Bainbridge lived his allotted threescore and ten years, history might not have been very different, but at least Henry's divorce would have had a vigorous, knowledgeable, and influential supporter at the court of Rome.

Northwestern University

LACEY BALDWIN SMITH

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN THE TUDOR NORTH: THE RISE OF THOMAS FIRST LORD WHARTON. By M. E. James. [University of York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research. Borthwick Papers, Number 27.] (York: St. Anthony's Press. 1965. Pp. 50. 5s.)

THIS is an extremely useful and, indeed, significant scholarly vignette of the rise of a great northern family to affluence and influence during the first half of the six-

teenth century. The reader should not be put off by its brevity, for the author has delved deeply into local and family records. The conclusions, on the whole, are of more than parochial significance.

The Whartons, of Wharton near Kirkby Stephen in Westmorland, were minor gentry at the opening of the century who may have been seated at Wharton since the thirteenth century. Their gentle antecedents certainly reached back as far as the early fifteenth century to the great-grandfather of the first lord. The family was of respectable but not very influential stock. Thomas Wharton, the first lord, needed industry, competence, and ambition to improve his own opportunities and to vault his family upward in the social scale. His ancestral estates provided a modest economic foundation for his career with an annual rent-roll of about one hundred pounds, a sum not so large as to encourage sloth nor yet so small as to make the pressures of livelihood unbearable. All in all, the first Lord Wharton was admirably situated to seize fortune's offerings, and he did so with remarkable skill and acumen in the service of King Henry VIII. As was often the case in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, effective service and unswerving loyalty to the sovereign proved surer roads to wealth and success than new economic practices or agricultural techniques. Wharton, in short, served his King and was well rewarded for doing so; the pattern of his rise was at once as simple and as complex as that. A radical within the framework of his own northern society, Wharton was also a conservative in his acceptance of the standards and values of his locality and his social affiliations. He was not someone from a new and totally different stratum of society but a man who made use of his talents to improve himself within the existing order. *Arriviste* though he was in the conservative North, he was still a part of the *status quo*. He was part of a displacement from within the order and not outside it. For him, as for so many of his contemporaries, the great revolution that made all else possible was the revolution of Tudor state power. Thomas Wharton was the instrument and the beneficiary of that revolution.

Barnard College

SIDNEY A. BURRELL

LITERARY, POLITICAL, SCIENTIFIC, RELIGIOUS & LEGAL PUBLISHING, PRINTING & BOOKSELLING IN ENGLAND, 1551-1700: TWELVE STUDIES. In two volumes. By *Leona Rostenberg*. With a preface by *Donald G. Wing*. [Burt Franklin Bibliography and Reference Series, Number 56.] (New York: Burt Franklin. 1965. Pp. xv, 236; 237-463. \$25.00 the set.)

FROM 1952 to 1960 a series of articles by Miss Rostenberg on English publishers of the seventeenth century appeared in the *Papers* of the Council of the Bibliographical Society and in *The Library*. These, together with two additional essays, have been arranged chronologically, provided with an introduction and a conclusion, and are here presented in book form. The title of the work suggests that it should constitute a major contribution toward the completion of the history of English publishing begun by H. S. Bennett in his *English Books and Readers, 1475 to 1557*. Unfortunately such is not the case. Despite the introduction and the conclusion, the articles remain twelve separate essays, individually weak in historical background and lacking the framework essential to a definitive study. The introduction, which might have supplied the necessary framework, is especially dis-

appointing. It is superficial in its handling of the history of the century from "the autocratic reign of Elizabeth I" to "the success of English Republicanism" after 1688 and contributes little to our knowledge of the extremely involved relationships within the publishing trade itself or to our understanding of the broader problem of the relationship of printing, publishing, and bookselling to the social and political developments of the age. The concluding chapter is little more than a series of brief paraphrases of passages from the various articles instead of the comprehensive and reflective treatment of the immensely broad and vital subject one should expect.

The articles themselves will interest the historian primarily because they do successfully bring together the biographical and bibliographical data on the individual publishers. The subjects of the essays range widely in their fields of interest and activity from Thomas Wight, publisher of legal works in the last years of Elizabeth, and Thomas Thorpe, the publisher of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, to John Martyn, official "Printer to the Royal Society," and Richard and Anne Baldwin, ardent Whig publishers of political pamphlets and newspapers at the end of the century. Rostenberg includes a wealth of bibliographical material from the records of the Stationers' Company and other sources not easily accessible to the layman and brings to her consideration of the books themselves an unsurpassed knowledge of seventeenth-century editions. Burt Franklin has printed a large and well-selected series of title pages from the books discussed. The reproductions, the printing, and the binding of the work should please the bibliophile as well as the historian.

Denison University

W. M. SOUTHGATE

ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONAL THEORY AND THE HOUSE OF LORDS, 1556-1832. By *Corinne Comstock Weston*. [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, Number 607.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1965. Pp. vii, 304. \$7.50.)

Mrs. Weston has written an able and provocative book. Her thesis is "that a major reason why so few political reformers questioned the position of the House of Lords before 1832 was their acceptance of the prevailing constitutional theory of mixed and balanced government." In 1642 the theory found expression in Charles I's "Answer" to the Nineteen Propositions presented by Parliament. By mixing monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, this "King's Constitution" preserved the virtues of each and the inconveniences of none, "as long as the balance hangs even between the three estates, king, lords, and commons." The author regards the "Answer" as "the cardinal document in the history of the classical theory of the English constitution and a pronouncement that proved to be one of the most influential ever made on the nature of the English government."

She follows the fortunes of the theory of mixed government through the Restoration, the revolutionary settlement of 1689, and the eighteenth century, when democratic ideas, which had flourished earlier, once more reappeared in the writings of Paine, Godwin, and Priestley. In the nineteenth century Cartwright and Bentham both eventually espoused democratic principles, which led to an attack on the House of Lords and the demand for its abolition.

Weston's study is important and well documented from a variety of sources.

On the whole she presents her evidence fairly, but at times she overstates her case. In considering the early history of the theory of mixed government, though she goes back to Aristotle and Polybius and pays due respect to Fortescue and Ponet, she gives little attention to indigenous legal thought and parliamentary expression. The judges, whose discussion of Parliament and definition of prerogative power and subjects' rights are reported in the Year Books, laid a solid English foundation for a theory of mixed government. Charles's "Answer" also could have been more closely related to English thought. The author remarks that Colepeper, who probably wrote the constitutional sections of the "Answer," may have been influenced in his definition of the three estates by lawyers and William Lambarde's *Archeion*, but she does not explore the implications of this point.

For the early Stuart period, Weston places too much reliance on an article by Hinton in the *Cambridge Historical Journal*, which led her to conclude that the theory of mixed government, common in Elizabethan days, was little used in the years 1603-1642. A better source would have been the parliamentary debates where political ideas of this period were hammered out. The old simile, so often used, of the human body with the king as head and the Lords and Commons as members, implies a belief in mixed government. The attack on proclamations in the House of Commons, the begrudging of subsidies and of tonnage and poundage, the attempts to cut off extraparlimentary sources of revenue, and the proposals for frequent or even annual Parliaments, all proclaim that Parliament must have a share in government. Both houses were evaluating their functions in relation to the king. Thus, the theory of mixed government cannot be said to reappear in 1642 with the "Answer," but it was implicitly or explicitly characteristic of English political philosophy throughout the century.

Though Charles's "Answer" stands out too sharply from surrounding English tradition and its influence is weighted too heavily, the author has done well to emphasize its importance and to make the document available in an appendix. Her main thesis of the theory of mixed government and the House of Lords stands firm. On the whole, her book is a useful guide to the history of that theory, and a sound appraisal of reform proposals concerning the upper chamber to the year 1832.

Ursinus College

ELIZABETH READ FOSTER

AN ELIZABETHAN PROBLEM: SOME ASPECTS OF THE CAREERS OF TWO EXILE-ADVENTURERS. By *L. Hicks, S. J.* (New York: Fordham University Press. 1964. Pp. x, 261. \$6.00.)

THAT Thomas Morgan and Charles Paget, the "Exile-Adventurers" in the title of Leo Hicks's tightly knit volume, were secret agents of the Elizabethan Council in its anti-Marian and anti-Catholic programs between the years 1569 and 1590, rather than loyal servants of either Mary Stuart or the Catholic cause on the Continent, is not demonstrated to the exclusion of all credible doubt by this work. On the other hand, no student of the English Counter Reformation will find it profitable to remain unacquainted with Hicks's use of evidence and analysis in a problem area never before comprehensively treated. The fundamental value of this work, however, lies not so much in the author's conclusions, or in the ultimate place in English history of Paget and Morgan, as in its contribution as an investi-

gation and analysis of the methods and practices of Elizabethan government, its elaboration of the causes and effects of the struggle for supremacy among the factions of exiled English Catholics, and its example of that excellence in historical methodology and integration of types of evidence to which historians aspire. Indeed, scientifically oriented and effectively presented evidence is the key to this valuable work.

The author, in a project that is obviously the patient labor of many years, lays fact upon fact, adds document to document, and meticulously extracts logical conclusions from the process. Nor is the validity of the pyramidally structured evidence pattern lessened by Hicks's prefaced admission that he agrees with the ancient recusant suspicions of the clandestine purposes of Paget and Morgan. Even so, his use and interpretation of certain evidence are open to question. In Appendix I he implies that Queen Elizabeth's proclamation of July 15, 1580, indicates that the government accepted as fact the existence of the Papal League of 1580 for the invasion of England, which some of the exiled Catholics favored. Quite clearly this document evinces an opposite belief in stating that such "designs have been hitherto frustrate." The constant italicizing of key words in excerpted materials tends toward an imbalance of emphasis. The author's willingness to accept without test the credibility of William Cardinal Allen and Robert Persons is in contrast with his commendable suspicion of other sources. Lastly, the volume does not contain a bibliography, and the index, in great part a nonanalytical list of names, is irritatingly inadequate.

DePaul University

PAUL L. HUGHES

THE THIRD BOOK OF REMEMBRANCE OF SOUTHAMPTON, 1514-1602. Volume III (1573-1589). Edited by *A. L. Merson*. [Southampton Records Series, Volume VIII.] (Southampton: University Press. 1965. Pp. xxi, 142. £2 12s.6d.)

IN 1952 Mr. A. L. Merson began the task of editing the present manuscript, which now has run to three printed volumes and will not be complete without a fourth. His scrupulous work has produced a book triply rewarding: illuminating the expansion of municipal government in the later Middle Ages, firmly connecting developments in Southampton to affairs at the center, and providing notes that are models of detailed and relevant scholarship.

While the current volume deals only with the years 1573-1589, the full context of Merson's editing is basic to any appreciation of his accomplishment. For only in context does it become clear that Southampton's remembrance books were the product of a restlessly expanding municipal government no longer content to do its business wholly in the old curial way. Just as the central government of the sixteenth century sought to separate judicial, legislative, and administrative functions, so did the mayor and his assistants in the Hampshire port seek new ways to record novel business, especially in matters of town finance, producing in the course of their work remembrance books recording aspects of income and expenditure rather than the routine of an office or institution.

The *Third Book* began in 1514 as a record of the corporation's fee farm and debts due to the town, but, like the other books, it lost its financial significance. By 1525 the manuscript was the record of "occasional, exceptional, and even cas-

ual entries" stemming from the work of the town clerk, who was very much a secretary in the Cromwellian mold, engrossing the administrative affairs of the port.

Hence, the remembrances of 1573-1589 illuminate Southampton's affairs in ways not intended in 1514. We sense the despair setting in as the buoyant 1560's and 1570's, afloat on the wave of wine and woad trade, gave way to the decade 1577-1587, at first a trough and then a smashing depression following the break in the wave. The miracle of the Spanish war implicated Southampton once more in merchant glory, however, as prizes and London capital rode the Hampshire current. War fever was not all gain. The Lord Admiral and the council searched deeply into the town's liberties. Special commissions, new duties imposed by statute, and quo warrantos came in rapid succession, bringing also calls to Leicester, Horsey, and Walsingham, as Southampton sought patrons against "strangers" and Elizabeth's suddenly too inquisitive government.

Thus do the patents, deeds, letters, and charters here presented illuminate Southampton's Tudor history and make the port come alive as a microcosm of Elizabeth's glorious but troubled world.

University of California, Los Angeles

ARTHUR J. SLAVIN

LEICESTER'S TRIUMPH. By R. C. Strong and J. A. van Dorsten. [Publication of the Sir Thomas Browne Institute, Leiden, Special Series Number 2.] (New York: Oxford University Press for the Institute. 1964. Pp. xii, 137. \$4.50.)

In 1585, after refusing an offer to become ruler of the Netherlands, Queen Elizabeth of England signed the Treaty of Nonsuch granting military assistance to the Dutch in their struggle with Spain. She appointed the Earl of Leicester, her former lover and a person of great political ambition, to command the English troops. Leicester left England late in 1585, was given a series of magnificent receptions by the Dutch, and then, without Elizabeth's consent or knowledge, accepted the governor-generalship of Holland with wide political and military powers. These events, in brief, constitute *Leicester's Triumph*, although the "triumph" was shortly to be followed by failure as he faced the realities of Dutch politics.

The authors of this little book (one English and the other Dutch, and both well versed in the literature and art of the age) are not interested in merely recounting these events and examining their political significance. Instead, their attention is focused on the way these events are expressed in the literature, art, and pageantry of the time. As the authors point out, poets and pageant masters were the propagandists of sixteenth-century governments, and certainly both were very active in 1585-1586 in promoting the idea of an Anglo-Dutch state. The Dutch poets hailed Leicester as their ruler and deliverer, while the pageant masters in each of the cities and towns Leicester visited tried to outdo each other in planning sumptuous receptions. Two full chapters of the book are devoted to these festivities. The authors are to be commended for their diligent research in providing minute details of each of the receptions, but one wonders what vital significance some of these details have. Of what great importance is it to learn, for example, that in Delft £1,104 were paid for the banquet, £742 for wines, £3 for decorating the banquet rooms with tapestries, and £870 for a gift to Leicester; or that in Haarlem "the triumphal arches and fireworks ran well over £1,000 and at the

banquet they ate no less than £639 worth of food and £169 worth of marchpane, sugar and cake"? If, in addition to these details, there were a thorough discussion of the political and religious situation in Holland, thus providing a full picture of this important episode in Leicester's career, the work would be more useful to historians. The authors point out, however, that this is beyond the scope of their work and that their intention is to treat the subject mostly in its literary and artistic aspects. This they do very well. The book is interestingly written and handsomely printed and illustrated.

Temple University

ROBERT C. JOHNSON

THE ENGLISH PRESBYTERIANS AND THE STUART RESTORATION, 1648-1663. By *George R. Abernathy, Jr.* [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LV, Part 2.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1965. Pp. 101. \$2.50.)

WHY was the restoration of the Anglican Church effected with such relative ease, especially when one considers the momentous religious events of the 1640's: the defeat of the Laudians, the establishment of Presbyterianism, and the triumph of Independency through the army? In 1951 Robert S. Bosher in *The Making of the Restoration Settlement, 1649-1662*, recounted the resurgence of Laudianism; now George S. Abernathy has given us a carefully documented study of English Presbyterian policy from Pride's Purge to Charles II's first Declaration of Indulgence; only a study of the collapse of Independency remains to be written to complete the picture.

Abernathy believes that "in the final analysis, the Presbyterians lost at the Stuart Restoration through their disunity, their numerical weakness, their indecision, their lack of a positive and consistent policy, and their unwillingness to support Charles II and Clarendon at the risk of gains for Catholics." To this might also be added their refusal to come to terms with their fellow Puritans, the Independents. The author challenges the view of Bosher that the die was cast in favor of the Anglicans when Charles II came to the throne and Sir Edward Hyde became the Lord Chancellor. Instead, Abernathy believes that Charles's first Declaration of Indulgence of 1662 for Presbyterians, Independents, and Catholics was the logical continuation of the basic principles followed by Hyde since 1642 and by Charles since 1649. In a most significant new interpretation, the author convincingly argues that Hyde (now Lord Clarendon) agreed with the Declaration of Indulgence. Those principles included the preservation of the monarchical prerogative and a return to the pre-Laudian Church of England comprehending both Puritans and Anglicans. Therefore, the decisive turning point for the Presbyterians, according to Abernathy, is the parliamentary election of 1660 when the Anglicans were able to dominate the Convention Parliament—a domination, incidentally, that could only take place when the Presbyterians refused to cooperate with the Independents. A fundamental question is just how compatible Presbyterianism and absolute monarchy were in 1660. The answer is that they were and they were not, for, as Abernathy suggests, there were two divisions within the Presbyterian camp. The "moderate" Presbyterians, such as Richard Baxter, wanted comprehension within the national church by moderating or reducing episcopacy to synodical government as Archbishop Usher had proposed (1654). The "rigid"

Presbyterians, such as Zachary Crofton, wanted an establishment of Presbyterianism as provided, for example, in the religious and political concessions made by Charles I to the unpurged Long Parliament in the Treaty of Newport (1648). Both the "moderate" and "rigid" Presbyterians had come a long way from the theocratic views of the Elizabethan Thomas Cartwright and the Scottish Presbyterians of the Westminster Assembly. Even though they found a national church concept, which they shared with the Anglicans, more attractive than Calvinist theology, which they shared with the Independents, they still failed to win either comprehension or toleration.

Indiana University

LEO F. SOLT

RECORDS OF THE BOROUGH OF LEICESTER. Volume V, HALL BOOKS AND PAPERS 1689-1835. Edited by *G. A. Chinnery*. [Published under the authority of the Leicester City Council.] ([Leicester:] Leicester University Press. 1965. Pp. xvii, 582. £4 4s.)

THE borough of Leicester began publishing its records as long ago as 1899, but by 1923 only four volumes had appeared covering the years 1103-1688. Three supplementary volumes were subsequently published and contained those portions of the records relating to admission to freedoms and apprenticeships and gave the roll of mayors and lord mayors with biographical commentary from 1196 into the twentieth century. The main series of records publications has now been resumed under the editorship of the Keeper of the Department of Archives at Leicester. This volume is the fifth of that series and contains extracts from the hall books and related papers of the borough from 1689 until the reform of the old corporation in 1835. The editor and publisher expect that two additional volumes will soon follow containing the financial and judicial records of the borough for the same period.

Leicester has been well treated by historians—I need only mention the two remarkably fine studies by Greaves and Patterson—and it well deserves to be. As the editor of the present volume notes, Leicester during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries affords a classic example of a borough of medieval foundation undergoing the transition from market to industrial town. It also displays the political and social stresses that are classically supposed to accompany such transitions: the passing of the "settled life" of the earlier period and the emergence of an acute polarization in local politics as "outside and unrepresented interests" pressed for a share in the governing of the borough. Such a borough will richly reward a more intimate acquaintance than even the finest secondary works are able to afford.

It will now be possible to acquire much of this intimacy without having to venture across the seas to Leicester. The selection in the present volume is so generous that even the most serious student of the borough is not likely to require a fuller transcript from the records. The editor has provided a critical apparatus that makes the volume a pleasure to use: a brief technical introduction, subject headings for each entry in the text, an appendix listing the names and tenures of M.P.'s, corporation officers, aldermen, and common councilmen, and a full index. Chinnery has omitted any commentary or explanatory footnotes to the text, but he has promised that in the third volume of his series, "when the evidence for it has been made

available," he will "provide a commentary and comparison with the development of other boroughs."

Duke University

DONALD E. GINTER

NORTH COUNTRY LIFE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. Volume II, CUMBERLAND & WESTMORLAND 1700-1830. By *Edward Hughes*. [University of Durham Publications.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. vi, 426.)

THIS second volume on *North Country Life* by the late Edward Hughes resembles the first in its method and the character of its contents. Primarily it rests upon the manuscript collections of a few landed families and concerns itself with their fortunes, the exploitation of their properties, and their family relationships. This limited coverage gives a specific freshness and immediacy that a more comprehensive synthesis might lack, but for the most part we have only what the particular collections, in this case the Senhouse and the Christian-Curwen papers, happen to provide. The contents of the book, therefore, are like good lean bacon, streaky but full of red meat. If one accepts this unevenness, together with the somewhat less than meticulous treatment of quotations and the minor difficulties of keeping individuals sorted out, the book is delightful and enlightening. When the author wanders into general subjects such as the game laws, he sometimes gets out of his depth, but he describes real un-Hogarthian human beings and opens up new vistas that greatly extend our understanding.

Essentially the story develops from the Senhouse and Christian collieries in Cumberland (Westmorland hardly appears, except in the title). The landowners, in a somewhat paternalistic way, exploited the coal as more or less zealous entrepreneurs. This activity was accompanied by and meshed with a remarkable expansion of foreign trade. For a brief period around 1740 Whitehaven ranked as the second port in England, mainly because of the coal and tobacco trades, and Workington, Maryport, and Whitehaven had an active shipbuilding industry. Oddly enough, a Senhouse West Indian interest developed, too, though not in tobacco, for a younger son, William Senhouse, became Surveyor General of the Customs of Barbados (1770-1786). Among the more instructive parts of the book are those dealing with the launching of younger sons in life. The second Senhouse son was unsuccessfully apprenticed to an artist; the third served thirty years as unpromoted midshipman in the navy until suddenly rocketed to fortune in Barbados; the fourth went to sea until his brother found an office for him in the Indies.

For many readers the story of John Christian Curwen will provide the greatest interest in the book, just as he has provided the excuse for extending the time span eighty years beyond that of the first volume. Curwen, an engaging but hitherto rather mysterious figure on the fringes of the reform movement, comes alive here as an agricultural reformer, opponent of the game laws, and advocate of social insurance.

Miscellaneous as the book necessarily is, it contributes new information on and raises many questions about a part of England that was then just ceasing to be something of a backwater.

Thetford Center, Vermont

CHESTER H. KIRBY

SCOTLAND SINCE 1707: THE RISE OF AN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY. By R. H. Campbell. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1965. Pp. xii, 354. \$6.50.)

It is not generally appreciated that the Industrial Revolution was even more revolutionary in Scotland than in England. Only the late Professor Henry Hamilton's *Industrial Revolution in Scotland* (1932) dealt with the phenomenon as a whole, and it has been overtaken both by new evidence and new conceptions. More recently the same author's *Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (1963) has provided us with a synthesis of the evidence now available on the beginnings of industrialization, but the story breaks abruptly just as it is gaining momentum. Now, at last, Professor Campbell has given us a comprehensive general economic history of modern Scotland.

Campbell eschews such dramatic terms as "take-off" and even the more innocuous "Industrial Revolution," stressing instead the continuity of developments even while recognizing that important changes were taking place. The headings of the three parts into which the book is divided indicate his approach: "Economic Struggle, 1707 to 1780's"; "Economic Success, 1780's to 1870's"; and "Economic Pressure, 1870's to 1939." Within each part he has chapters on agriculture, trade and transport, industry, finance, and social conditions. The requirements of compression and synthesis force the author into limited generalizations about the course of events, but on the whole he sticks very close to the facts he has to report. Broader generalizations and theoretical explanations are limited to answering such questions as to whether the rise of the iron and steel industries in the west of Scotland gave an impetus to shipbuilding, or whether it was the other way around. (He favors the latter, giving plausible arguments that the earlier excellence of the engineering trades attracted shipbuilding, which in turn exerted a strong demand for iron and steel.)

Campbell assigns the major role for initiating the period of "economic success" to the textile industries, especially cotton, and to iron, steel, and shipbuilding for continuing it. He is undoubtedly correct in his emphasis, but it leads him perhaps unintentionally to understate the broad range of industrial activities carried on and to slight the contributions of other industries. Only scattered references are made to the chemical and engineering industries, usually in connection with textiles, iron, steel, and shipbuilding. Distilling and the whisky trade rate but a single paragraph, and there is no mention at all of brewing. What one misses most, however, is any attempt to estimate the quantitative dimensions of the process of industrialization in Scotland. Random statistics abound, but there is no mention of national income, either total or per capita; of the proportion of the labor force engaged in various occupations; or of growth rates either for the economy as a whole or for particular industries. These omissions reduce the value of the volume for comparative purposes.

The book is, nevertheless, a welcome, much-needed addition to the literature of economic history. Campbell writes lean, clear, economical prose; appropriately, there are no wasted words. The few, mostly minor, omissions noted above are compensated for by the authority with which the major developments are related. What we have, in brief, is a model national economic history of a conventional sort.

University of Wisconsin

RONDO CAMERON

STATESMANSHIP AND PARTY GOVERNMENT: A STUDY OF BURKE AND BOLINGBROKE. By *Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 281. \$7.50.)

THE closely reasoned arguments in this book consider more seriously than some Burke's *Thoughts on the Present Discontents* as well as Bolingbroke's *Dissertation upon Parties*, *Letters on the Spirit of Patriotism*, and *Idea of a Patriot King*. In his *Thoughts* Burke was counteracting the influences of Bolingbroke in the 1760's. Mansfield adds, with perhaps more than one meaning, that such influence is seen "not so much in collected manuscripts of private transactions as in pamphlets offered at large." To these pamphlets he gives considerable attention. The Bolingbroke theory, described in the passage of the *Thoughts* in which Burke identified it with those who made "professions of supernatural virtue," aimed at the elimination of party. This was because it contemplated a return to true first principles, and these by definition could not be partisan. Burke, who would not accept such abstractions as the basis of politics, preferred party government. He was the first Englishman to assert the respectability of party. This was essentially a defensive maneuver; yet, says Mansfield, it had a revolutionary character in its implications of resistance to tyranny, a character that Burke successfully concealed.

This conflict between Bolingbroke and Burke was in reality the conflict between statesmanship or the creative individualism of great men and party government with its emphasis upon the "settled responsibility" of a group. In his discussions of the necessary tensions between the ideals of statesmanship and party government, Mansfield, it seems to me, gives too little attention to party leadership as a form of statesmanship and as a means of lessening the tension. Burke was aware of the possibilities of tension and, as Mansfield shows when discussing Burke's later political thought, attempted to assuage it. The analysis of Burke's thought displays its consistency. As an opponent of abstract first principles of government, and as a thinker who preferred prescription and the rules of prudence, that is conservatism, to statesmanship, Burke was able comfortably to accept the idea of party government as the solution to the discontents of his time.

Historians may not be fully persuaded by this book, in spite of the boldness and forcefulness of its arguments. Mansfield's premise that "party government is chiefly a matter of opinion regarding party" and the assertion that Burke's case for the respectability of party was important in the formation of this opinion deserve attention. But it is not easy to abandon, with Mansfield, the view that the development of party government depended upon acceptance of the idea that opposition is not only tolerable but virtuous. As we have been recently reminded, political practice as well as political theory contributed to making party and opposition respectable, and for understanding this, close attention to the historical record ought to go along with acute analysis of political writings.

University of Kentucky

CARL B. CONE

BOSWELL'S POLITICAL CAREER. By *Frank Brady*. [Yale Studies in English, Volume CLV.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 200. \$5.00.)

WHETHER Dr. Johnson or Yale owes most to Boswell warrants a symposium; and

what Boswell owes to Yale can scarcely escape the attention of a Ph.D. candidate. Indeed, in all propriety, Yale should award James Boswell a PH.D. (Doctor Post Humous). Although this "political failure" is known to hundreds of thousands to whom Lonsdale, "Earl of Toadstool," and "Boss" Dundas are no more than names in a footnote, one may query if the present volume is not one more instance of a subject worth an article and blown up to a book. Are we to anticipate volumes on Boswell's financial status, religious belief, career as a joiner, and attitude toward nature? Admittedly, Dr. Brady informs us about Scottish politics, a brew no less troubled and bubbled than that confected before Macbeth, and breathes life into a diversity of men known only to the initiate. Yet while he explains certain matters in detail, the parchment barons, for example, he also introduces the interesting and important George Dempster quite inadequately, refers to the "Douglas Cause" without explanation, and irrelevantly, perhaps improperly, sets off Boswell against "another political failure, Gibbon."

The political failure of Boswell, a "Tory with Whig principles," to have an M.P. annexed to his name, though not of itself cause for dismissal, does not possess sufficient general interest to warrant lengthy examination. Temperament and ambition alike made him a weather vane, and he could quite as well have been described as a Whig with Tory principles. He chiefly wanted to join the best club in England, whether, as Dempster put it so aptly, taken as a business, an amusement, or the means of learning wisdom, acquiring knowledge of men, and forming connections. To that end Boswell wooed Dundas, Lonsdale (think of Bozzy as one of Lowther's ninepins), or anyone else—if the mackerel may be said to "woo" the whale—who might assist his ambition. To that end he submitted to insults, plenty of them, knowing them for what they were, and got his own back with squibs of various sorts, but he never got to Parliament; nor did he come very close. He was used, not rewarded, by men who presumably agreed with an anonymous Ayrshireman that his "petulant vanity and violent versatility" all too conspicuously marked him out an "object of contempt and ridicule." Perhaps his admirers should rejoice that he did fail: fulfillment of his political ambitions must have consigned to another the role of The Biographer.

University of Missouri

CHARLES F. MULLETT

HORACE WALPOLE'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE COUNTESS OF UPPER OSSORY. In three volumes. Edited by *W. S. Lewis* and *A. Dayle Wallace*, with the assistance of *Edwine M. Martz*. [The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence, Volumes XXXII-XXXIV.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1965. Pp. lxxv, 412; viii, 588; 502. \$17.50 each.)

THE opinion of an eighteenth-century publicist that the "history of a literary person consists chiefly of his works" is amply confirmed by the most voluminous letter writer of that century. There is no need to claim greatness for Horace Walpole, but no one can deny that he was greatly situated or that he left personalia beyond the resources of statistics, eighteenth-century statistics at any rate. He knew everybody who was anybody, and many who were not. The recipient of these present letters was a somebody, if not in her own right, at least in her station. She is most quickly identified by her first husband, the Duke of Grafton, who even as first minister thought, in Walpole's own words, "the world should be postponed to a

whore and a horse-race," and who later, in a marked reversal of opinion, became a Unitarian. She married her second husband, less notorious and less important, three days after her divorce from Grafton and seven months after she had borne him a daughter. Her avidity for news and her partial estrangement from its sources as well as Walpole's open "assiduity" about her are attested by 455 letters that in the opinion of the master of Walpoliana shows him at his best as a writer and a person. Although they were composed for posterity no less than the Countess, her appreciation of them matched that of posterity.

What a kaleidoscope the viewer of this pageant may see, its private character more clearly than its public. As Lewis says, in words that tell us much about himself, when Walpole writes we hear the eighteenth century talking. Of course a quiet voice will ask, "What eighteenth century?" Are these written conversations, or rather monologues, much more than gossip—amusing, informing, instructing, and sometimes chilly and fabricated too? Was Horace Walpole any other than great old Robert Burton's antiquary, concerned with who comes hither, who is expecting, what place does he seek, what place will he get, who is bedding with whom? The editors' footnotes are convenient for they will not permit a moment's mystification concerning person or topic. Here is a compulsive correspondent cultivating his ego; his "open and undisguised" assiduity about the Countess did not exceed his assiduity about himself. Of course he is interesting—up to a point—interesting for himself and for his world, a world of parakeets endlessly chattering, but not always about trivia.

Seldom free of malice, Walpole's wit has bequeathed a chaplet of gems that shine the brighter for those who know their eighteenth century. How can one forbear to smile at the thought of stuffy Bute voiding a "quarry of gallstones," one so large as to deserve a place in the British Museum? Or at the image of Mansfield "quivering on the woollack like an aspen"? Or at the listing, among other art objects, of "one bedpan having the queen's arms enamelled at the end"? Or at the quip that since "our climate requires to be roasted and boiled as much as our meat . . . we have more coal mines than all the rest of the world"? Or at Lord Edgumbe's Englishing of *ars musica* as "bumfiddle"? We must forgive a man much who characterized one of his own letters as being as difficult to unravel as one of Lord Chatham's motions in the Lords and signed another "Dunce Scotus"; who described a duelist as being drilled with as many holes as a "cul-lender"; who lampooned the patriot aflame with liberty until he has promise of a place whereupon he votes against Magna Carta and pays nobody, but on being refused a reversion for three lives became a patriot again; who japed at the "queen of the Blues" translating Lord Lyttelton's "load of dull lumber" into Greek; and who reported that "Julius Caesar Burgonius's [Johnny Burgoyne] commentaries are to be published in an extraordinary gazette of three-and-twenty pages in folio." Indeed the professorial reader of these letters possesses a saucy anecdote for a hundred lectures.

Is there anything but sauce and gossip? Well, it is often difficult to take a wit, a somewhat artificial wit, seriously. His comments on the domestic political scene turn out to be neither particularly enlightening nor particularly dependable; those on the external scene are better. He clearly was distressed by the American policy and lost no opportunity to deride it, even to the extent of enjoying its setbacks. He warned the Countess that she must lay aside her botany and "study imports and

exports, and charters and geography." The outbreak of war gravely depressed him. Did Englishmen want to reign over "America laid waste, deluged with blood, plundered, enslaved" as the "Spaniards over Peru, depopulated"? It all seemed to presage decline, the more that the behavior of the "cowardly rebels" precluded any quick end to the war and that, far from an easy triumph, England faced two more wars, with France and Spain. If this crisis developed, England would lose Canada, Ireland would erupt, the East Indies would vanish "like a scene in the Arabian tales." Whatever else one may say of such prophecies, they do reflect a considerable body of contemporary opinion.

And herein lies the historical value of this epistolary monument, impressive alike in authorship, editing, and printing. Many readers will not, cannot, give a damn about the intrigues, the matings, the ambitions, the failures of ten thousand noddies; yet even though they are more concerned with the ninety and nine, or nine hundred and ninety-nine, thousands who nowhere figure in these volumes, they cannot fail to learn something, perhaps much, about a society that thought the new liveries of milord's postilions worth reporting.

University of Missouri

CHARLES F. MULLETT

EMIGRATION AND DISENCHANTMENT: PORTRAITS OF ENGLISHMEN REPATRIATED FROM THE UNITED STATES. By *Wilbur S. Shepperson*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 211. \$4.95.)

STORIES of adventures in a strange land are fascinating, and not less so when the narratives are of the difficulties and discouragements faced by men and women who hoped to establish a new home. In this volume Professor Shepperson continues his examination of British emigration and of repatriates' views of the United States with an account of the experiences of some seventy-five returnees, most of whom wrote reverse immigrant letters warning that life in the New World was neither easy nor pleasant. The emphasis is on the immigrant's search for greater rewards; there is little upon America's effect on his subsequent career.

The study is introduced by a chapter on immigration as a two-way process, a chapter emphasizing and providing some illustrations of the magnitude and significance of the British return movement, and is concluded by one analyzing the causes of failure on the part of fifty of the seventy-five returnees. Intervening chapters cover agriculturists who sought success on the land, artisans and members of the business class who went to urban areas, actors, members of cooperative communities, seekers for self-realization, and other dreamers, clergymen, teachers, writers, and other members of the professional class. It is apparent, however, that the unifying thread is the published account of experiences in the United States. Not all who wrote were immigrants; not all were disenchanted.

Students of British history will regret the omission of Lord Lyndhurst, three times Lord Chancellor, and the brief coverage allotted George Julian Harney and Peter MacDouall, the Chartist leaders. More consideration might have been given to the possible effect of America on Charles Augustus Murray, the diplomatist. His protective attitude toward women—a predominant trait in the United States, according to Fanny Kemble—involved Britain in a war with Persia. American historians, however, will find the volume a useful addition to the literature of accounts of the United States in the nineteenth century. They will be interested in

the author's conclusion that, in general, the failure was in the immigrant rather than in American society.

San Jose State College

MARY D. CONDON

WELLINGTON AND HIS FRIENDS: LETTERS OF THE FIRST DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE RT. HON. CHARLES AND MRS. ARBUTHNOT, THE EARL AND COUNTESS OF WILTON, PRINCESS LIEVEN, AND MISS BURDETT-COUTTS. Selected and edited by *The Seventh Duke of Wellington*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 317. \$7.50.)

We are apt to think of the Duke of Wellington as the soldier on horseback, or in his later life as something of a public institution, but here we see him as a most human being. As with a number of other eminent Englishmen, the society of women seems to have been a psychological necessity to him, but unfortunately his wife was unable to provide the intellectual stimulus and the social *savoir-faire* that he required. And so he fell back on the society of other men's wives (but not to the extent of alienating their husbands, who were also his friends). There were as well a number of young ladies, a Miss Jenkins, who is not mentioned in this collection, and Miss Burdett-Coutts, who first met him when she was twenty-five and he three times that age.

He corresponded with all these ladies on a prodigious scale about politics, society, religion, family affairs, and their mutual comings and goings. The letters of four of them have been recovered by the family, and selected portions of 364 out of a total of 3,095 are offered here, many for the first time. The correspondence begins in 1819, the year Wellington finally settled down in England after his wanderings. The first correspondent is Mrs. Arbuthnot, the wife of his friend and colleague, who after her death in 1834 came to live with the Duke, by then also a widower. During most of this period he also carried on a less frequent correspondence with Countess Lieven, from which we have a short selection, with an English translation printed as an appendix. These letters are less politically oriented than those written to his English ladies. Some years after the death of Mrs. Arbuthnot and the departure of the Lievens from London, he initiated a similar correspondence with Lady Wilton, the wife of a Conservative politician and daughter of the twelfth Earl of Derby. This terminated gradually after 1846 when he began the most extraordinary correspondence with Miss Burdett-Coutts, part of which has already been published. In some ways these letters are the most intimate, as if addressed to a close member of the family. The precocious young lady evidently idolized the old man and even went as far as proposing marriage. The letter in which he told her gently why it could not be is one of the most human in the whole collection, which is for the most part matter of fact in tone.

There are many interesting and significant political observations. He had little to say for Liverpool or Peel, less for Canning, and least of all for George IV, but he was always aware of his own importance. He shrewdly criticized the handling of the Factory Act of 1844, while on the corn law crisis he wrote: "I am doing what I can to relieve matters and to keep the Ship afloat," but he warmly defended Peel's measure on the ground that "anything was better than Lord Grey and Cobden as Ministers."

The collection's major contribution, however, probably lies in the picture it draws of the Duke's own personality and of the social history of his day. There are of course innumerable illustrations of the Duke's prejudices, of his many queer quirks, of his taste for theology, and of his general contempt for the world and all ranks of society.

The present Duke, himself in his eightieth year, has made a good selection and done a reasonable job of editing, although there are a few factual errors. The editor's comments, in the few places where they are introduced, are terse and to the point in a fashion that would have pleased his illustrious forbear. All in all these letters make a fascinating collection and are well worth reading for their own sake.

University of Toronto

J. B. CONACHER

SALISBURY AND THE MEDITERRANEAN, 1886-1896. By C. J. Lowe.
[Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1965.
Pp. ix, 123. \$4.25.)

THIS brief study suggests that British foreign policy was for a decade "almost entirely determined by Mediterranean problems." This gave considerable importance to Italy. As Salisbury himself remarked, the key to the situation was "our position towards Italy and through Italy to the Triple Alliance." Mr. Lowe's book is based in part on work in the Italian archives, and it contributes to our understanding of Italy's importance for British policy in this period.

From the Bulgarian crisis of 1885-1886 to the Armenian massacres ten years later, Great Britain sought to continue the defense of Turkey at Constantinople against the Russians. Britain's disputes with France, combined with the growing rapprochement between France and Russia, made Salisbury look to the Triple Alliance for support in this policy. It was here that Italy performed an important function by providing a bridge to that alliance. Italy, with its vulnerable coastline and its aspirations in Tripoli, was anxious to secure the support of British naval power and made the approach to London in January 1887 that led to the Mediterranean Agreements. These brought Britain, Italy, and Austria-Hungary together in support of the *status quo* in the Mediterranean. The Italians pressed for a formal alliance. Salisbury, however, would not go so far. He was quite unwilling to support Italy in all circumstances. "We wish," he was to remark, "to lean to the Triple Alliance without belonging to it." Rather than enter into further commitments he preferred to strengthen the navy. By 1895, when Salisbury returned to power, conditions had changed. Austria had shown itself unwilling to support Britain in Constantinople. At the same time German pressure in the Congo and incidents like the Kruger telegram did much to alienate British public opinion from the Central Powers. Finally, the Armenian massacres made a policy of bolstering Turkey quite unpalatable. Britain fell back on Egypt as its position of strength in the Mediterranean, and this made the support of the German powers less vital. By 1896 the agreements of 1887 had served their turn.

Salisbury and the Mediterranean is primarily concerned with describing these events. It does not, for example, attempt to examine the validity of Salisbury's policy or to assess its significance. The view presented, however, is not narrowly diplomatic. Attention is paid to the political pressures that affected policy and to

the shifting balance of naval power in the Mediterranean. This enhances the interest of a useful study.

California Institute of Technology

DAVID C. ELLIOT

NATIONALISATION IN BRITISH POLITICS: THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. By *R. Eldon Barry*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1965. Pp. 397. \$8.50.)

Good wine needs no bush; but the reverse is not always true, and it would be unfortunate if a dull title should discourage readers from this most interesting book. For in discussing proposals for nationalization in Britain over the past two centuries Mr. Eldon Barry has, as it were, climbed a new mountain and looks down on the familiar country of British radicalism, socialism, and the Labour movement from a new viewpoint. Not that nationalization and socialism are identical, as Barry is painfully aware; to him nationalization is state ownership acquired by parliamentary means; socialism is the public ownership of "all the significant means of production, distribution and exchange," including land. If there is any criticism of this honest and careful narrative, it lies in a certain lack of emphasis in making important points, such as the TUC's acceptance of a complete program of nationalization in 1894 (in an amendment moved by Keir Hardie), or the Labour party's commitment to giving workers "an effective share in the control and direction of socialised industries" in 1933 (another strengthening amendment to a limited program, moved by Charles Dukes of the Municipal Workers). Similarly, Barry passes over the state acquisition of the telegraph and telephone systems with the barest of mentions and omits the nationalization of the port of London altogether.

The book falls into two main parts. In the first it recounts the gradual progress of demands for the nationalization of the land, the railways, and the coal mines, and the assimilation of these objectives by the trade-unions and the SDF, the ILP, and other parts of the Labour movement. The "resumption" by the people of the ownership of the land is the oldest demand, going back to Thomas Spence and Bronterre O'Brien, and producing, in the 1890's, the busy journeyings of the yellow and red vans of the two rival land societies. This has been also the most barren of all nationalization proposals, though Barry might have mentioned the abortive Town and Country Planning Act of 1947. In the second part, dealing with the present century, the rise and fall of nationalization are described. Nationalization of the railways seemed imminent just before 1914, but the First World War, though it provided examples of temporary nationalization, was ultimately a source of distractions—Whitleyism, the shop stewards' movement, the Soviet influence, direct action—from the true path. Barry is merciless in his exposure of the vagueness of almost all nationalization proposals as to the methods of transfer and management and the ultimate objectives. In this MacDonald and Snowden were no more guilty than Shaw or the Webbs or the ILP. The selection of industries to be nationalized was partly a matter of historical accretion, partly a misty classification of key industries or those wrongly thought to be "ripe" and unresisting from the degree of monopoly already achieved. Even after much rethinking in the 1930's, described in one of Barry's most useful chapters, Labour was committed to nationalize chiefly the public utilities and the old, basic industries of coal and

railways, which was simply to follow Conservative policies of rehabilitating certain industries by state action for the benefit of private industry. (The Bank of England and iron and steel belonged to somewhat different categories.) It was all to be done "within a basically capitalist framework" and left all the really profitable industries untouched. This was what the Labour government of 1945-1950 carried out; when in 1949 the party extended its "shopping list" of industries to be nationalized it was naïvely surprised at the sudden and successful capitalist reaction that this produced. To the author, an avowed socialist, the Nationalization Acts were an anticlimax, "monuments to campaigns completed and promises fulfilled, rather than signposts to a new world yet to be reached."

University College of North Wales

C. L. MOWAT

MEN AND WORK: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By *Lord Citrine*. (London: Hutchinson of London. 1964. Pp. 384. 40s.)

Now aged seventy-eight, Lord Citrine plans to write another volume of autobiography. This one takes him to 1939. His rise in the trade-union world was rapid and relatively easy, from full-time secretary of a branch of the Electrical Trades Union in 1914 to secretary of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress by 1926. He was a poor boy who left school at twelve. Hard-working, abstemious, self-educated, and very bright, he began, in his twenties, to study trade-union theory and practice with loving care and thoroughness. An expert at shorthand, he recorded with a remarkable consistency his everyday experiences and observations; this makes much of this account quite unique for reliability and fullness. A middle of the roader, he is impatient with doctrinaires and has little use for the views of G. D. H. Cole, Harold Laski, advocates of united fronts with the Communists and Socialist League enthusiasts of the thirties, among whom he discerns an affinity for authoritarian solutions. Never spiteful, he nevertheless can be refreshingly frank about other people and their mistakes.

The most valuable chapters cover the general strike of 1926. Written from the General Council's viewpoint, they include long excerpts from Citrine's diary. He is especially good on the cleverness of "Jimmy" Thomas of the railway men's union and the shrewd intuitiveness of Ernest Bevin of the Transport Workers, the latter of whom he greatly admires and from whom he later received some of his staunchest support on the General Council. He is very hard on the miners. He does not regard the general strike as a failure since he believes no government would again seek to teach Labour a hard lesson as some of the members of the Baldwin government, particularly Churchill, wanted to do in 1926. The lesson of the strike, as of other trade-union setbacks, he argues, is the need for central and responsible authority. This is the main theme of his analysis of trade-union structure. Its defects he finds much the same now as they were in 1925. His own policy while secretary of the TUC always aimed at giving the General Council more power and an ever-expanding role in determining the nation's economic and industrial programs, but he makes it abundantly clear that sectionalism is so deeply imbedded as to make any reforms in these directions a long and slow process. A chapter on the fall of the Labour government in 1931 provides yet another antidote to "MacDonald as villain" versions of the 1931 crisis and includes a memorable account of a talk with a despairing MacDonald in 1933.

This is a thoughtful, well-written, and important book by a dedicated and very patient, though never passive, reformer. The tone is self-congratulatory but not offensively so.

Ohio State University

PHILIP P. POIRIER

THE DELUGE: BRITISH SOCIETY AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR.

By *Arthur Marwick*. (London: Bodley Head. 1965. Pp. 336. 42s.)

ARTHUR Marwick, a twenty-nine-year-old Scottish historian, has already published several important articles on the Independent Labour party and two substantial books, one a relatively short study of *The Explosion of British Society, 1914-62*, the other a first-rate biography of Clifford Allen, later Lord Allen of Hurtwood. Now he has turned to the First World War and has written his best book to date. There have been so many social historians of Great Britain during that conflict—Caroline Playne, Irene Willis, and Robert Graves come quickly to mind—that one is somewhat surprised by the freshness and the perception of this sensitive survey. Marwick succeeds admirably in his declared intention of describing what it was like to live in Britain during its first major war in a century. Equally important, he assesses the social changes that took place during that war and judges their long-term effect on the development of contemporary Britain.

The book is divided into three main parts. Marwick portrays with a nice sense for revealing detail how the first flush of excitement gave way in the early months of the war to a "business as usual" psychology and policy. Then, he outlines the various big changes—the improved status of labor, the growing independence of women, tentative experiments with state intervention—that characterized the last part of 1915 and all of 1916. And, finally, he describes the much more rigid state control and serious shortages that emerged on the domestic front in the last two years of the war. All of this is quite conventional and standard, for the main lines have long since been explored. Yet Marwick's comments on social behavior and attitudes, his discussion of significant material changes, and his evaluation of the contribution of various key individuals to those changes are so sensible and so well integrated into an absorbing narrative that his volume stamps him as one of the most interesting of the new breed of British historians who have finally discovered that the twentieth century is, after all, as much a part of their history as is the seventeenth.

Rutgers University

HRW

THE GOLDEN AGE OF WIRELESS. By *Asa Briggs*. [The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom, Volume II.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 688. \$12.00.)

"There is more in the B. B. C. than just broadcasting," as (according to Asa Briggs) the first and greatest director-general, Lord Reith, once told his staff. How much more may be surmised from the dimensions of Briggs's history; this large volume is but the second of four projected. Based upon full access to the BBC's files, it covers the period from the birth of the corporation in 1927 (after its prehistory as the British Broadcasting Company) to the outbreak of war in 1939. Among the subjects discussed are the content of programs, the structural

development of the BBC as a public corporation, and the size and nature of the audience, a matter that the BBC itself was notably slow to investigate, mainly because Reith declined to concern himself with what listeners wanted as opposed to what he thought they should have, but also, the author perceptively remarks, because of "the general unwillingness of Englishmen in the 1930's to take full stock of their position." Briggs describes the growth of the BBC's overseas activities, particularly the Empire Service, which the corporation had to pioneer alone against the limp indifference of governments in the 1930's. Finally, he tells the story of early experiments with competing alternative forms of television, a tale that does not lack irony, even pathos. Over all of this looms the dominating figure of Reith himself, bold and cautious by turns, imperious yet often superbly diplomatic, restless, austere, much admired, and sometimes bitterly disliked.

Points of interest to the general historian abound: for example, the fact that there was more controversy over religion than over any other aspect of BBC policy in the thirties. (And Lloyd George, ever embattled, served as chairman of the BBC's Welsh Religious Advisory Council in 1932!) Sabbatarianism was indeed slow to loosen its grip. As late as 1934 a committee was cautiously recommending that the "recent relaxation" of the limits on Sunday broadcasting "might well be extended to admit of still lighter material for which there was a widespread demand. There might even be a talk at 9.5 p.m. on regular matters of national or international importance." Small wonder that Radio Luxembourg, commercial-minded and uninhibited, attracted British Sunday listeners in droves. One question remains and ought to be asked, at the risk of appearing ungracious about a vast task being accomplished by one of the most competent, versatile, and productive of British historians: could not this vitally needed study be presented in, say, one-half or one-third the space?

Stanford University

RICHARD W. LYMAN

FOCUS: A FOOTNOTE TO THE HISTORY OF THE THIRTIES. By *Eugen Spier*. With an introduction by *Lady Violet Bonham Carter*. (London: Oswald Wolff. 1963. Pp. 159. 21s.)

THIS is a rather curious book. It is about a movement that was never well organized and is little known. It is by a German businessman who settled in London in 1922 and became deeply disturbed about the rise of Hitler in Germany and the program of the British government in confronting the menace of dictatorship and the danger of war. It tells of an entirely abortive effort to bring Churchill to a position of power in the mid-thirties. It sees the origin of the dilemma then facing Western civilization as a conflict between the ethical-religious standards of Western culture and the practice of politics by Western governments. It never really comes to grips with any of the basic problems of the period, and the reader who sticks to the end is likely to feel that he has been through a bout of shadowboxing.

The book is made up of important names, luncheons, minutes, speeches, and public meetings. Almost inevitably one concludes that this group, which gave itself the name of "Focus in Defence of Freedom and Peace," must have been like the Cliveden Set in reverse. It is hard to trace and evaluate the importance, for the purposes of history, of a group of players who come together in a series of "tableaux" even when the plot is clearly stated. It is all too likely that the real stuff of

national and international drama is being enacted on another stage altogether. In this particular the most spectacular act of Focus was the preparation and staging of the Albert Hall rally of December 3, 1936. It was no light task to present even for "freedom and peace" speakers who spread from Wall and Citrine through Lady Violet Bonham Carter to Lord Lytton and Churchill. Efforts to duplicate the rally in lesser cities met with reduced success. Beyond this the movement seemed to have little, and it was certainly a marked failure in terms of achieving its goals. Perhaps a bit of fuel was added to the mounting fire of public concern, but even here questions arise.

Within the limits of Focus one is dispirited by the contrast in scope between the goal and the means for achieving it. To wish to arouse the Christian conscience of a nation, to alert it to mortal danger, and to place in command a person of lofty ambitions and great genius are all noble intentions. But against this backdrop one sees the smallness and meagerness of those who would achieve such results. Where the intention was great, the persons engaged in its realization were calculating, self-seeking, confused, and inadequate. But it is, as was said, a rather curious book.

University of North Carolina

JAMES L. GODFREY

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS IN A CHANGING WORLD: LAW, POLITICS, & PROSPECTS. By *Zelman Cowen*. [1964 Rosenthal Lectures, Northwestern University School of Law.] (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press. 1965. Pp. vii, 118. \$3.50.)

DESCRIBED in its preface as "a view and a sketch primarily for American lawyers and law students," this book has a wider scope than that implies. Unusually attractive in its format, lucid in its style, and authoritative in its judgments, it deserves a large audience among students of contemporary history. The author's reading of contemporary sources is wide, though little use seems to have been made of Indian material.

The themes covered by the three lectures are indicated roughly by their titles: "The Emergence and Definition of the Commonwealth of Nations"; "The Multiracial Commonwealth: Redefinition and Adjustment"; "The Politics and Prospects of the Contemporary Commonwealth." The emphasis of the first lecture is fittingly on "matters of law and institutions." It begins with the haze of uncertainty caused by the attempt and failure of Britain to enter the Common Market. Had leadership in the new Commonwealth ceased to be a matter of substance and become only a matter of ritual? Was there substance in the belief that the Commonwealth could be a pointer to multilateral world society? Yet, whatever the future might hold for the Commonwealth, its evolution, Professor Cowen concludes, has been "a notable event in world history." He supplies some of the framework for that judgment in his discussions of constitutional matters, such as the Statute of Westminster before and after 1950, the change in the role of allegiance to the crown and the emergence of the monarch as external symbol of the association, the fading of the distinctions between foreign and Commonwealth countries, change in nationality and the common status. Immigration policies are referred to, but without mention of the Commonwealth's *modus vivendi* of 1917-1918 regarding immigration and the removal of disabilities imposed on domiciled Indi-

ans. The working of the machinery for consultation—of which much goes on at many levels—is discussed. The profound changes made by the Second World War are dealt with in the last lecture.

On the basis of autonomy and equality in the conduct of foreign affairs, as laid down in the interwar years, independent foreign policies were built after 1945. Britain's main strategic and defense interests now lay in Europe. (There is no discussion of the steps taken to honor the guarantee of Malaya's security.) Atlantic pacts and Pacific pacts, pivoted on the United States as the principal partner with Britain still in an important role, provide a new political and security framework for part of the Commonwealth. The rule of consultation before action becomes increasingly difficult in a Commonwealth whose members differ widely on important issues of foreign policy; the rule may be breached completely, as it was by Britain over Suez. The author returns, at the end of his lectures, to the fiasco of the Common Market. That episode colored his conclusion that the Commonwealth did not seem any longer to be "an association of much enduring significance, for it has ceased, or has largely ceased, to have either coherence or distinctiveness of character."

He began the book by noting that it is difficult to write about the Commonwealth because "yesterday's statements . . . date so rapidly." The adoption (weeks after his book was written) of the proposal for a Commonwealth secretariat for which he saw no future underlined his point. His book leaves in midstream the oldest international association, unique in its origins and structure, the law of whose being has been perpetual change.

Bethesda, Maryland

H. DUNCAN HALL

ESSAYS ON PIERRE BAYLE AND RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY. By Walter Rex. [International Archives of the History of Ideas, Number 8.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1965. Pp. xv, 271. Glds. 28.75.)

As implied in its title, this able monograph is not a comprehensive survey of Bayle's work and influence but an examination of several aspects of his thought in its contemporary religious setting. The genesis and the meaning of three writings are considered in detail: *Miscellaneous Thoughts on the Comet of 1680*; *Philosophical Commentary on the Words of Jesus Christ, "Compel Them to Come In"*; and the article "David" in the *Historical and Critical Dictionary*. Yet within this modest framework Walter Rex has elaborated and carefully documented a revisionist theory of major significance in Bayle studies: the assertion that this thinker's skepticism has been much overrated both by modern historians (in English, notably Robinson) and by philosophes of the Enlightenment (Voltaire and Diderot among others), and that his work must be reassessed from the viewpoint of his own seventeenth-century Calvinist background. Each of the three works examined, according to Rex, was conditioned by earlier Protestant controversies, by the Calvinist training and predispositions of Bayle himself, and by the historical vicissitudes of French Protestantism in the last two crucial decades of the century. Rex acknowledges that subsequent decades found in Bayle a rich mine of skepticism, deism, and even atheism, but he denies that such were the emphases of Bayle himself, especially in the 1680's. Though as early as the *Thoughts on the Comet*, and more clearly in the later works, there are obvious ambiguities in

Bayle's thought, which, together with a devastating critical apparatus, were gleefully seized upon by his more irreverent successors, Bayle in Rex's view was much less a skeptic or a deist than a theologically liberal, politically conservative Calvinist of his own age, and his works are less the harbinger of the mature Enlightenment than the culmination of specifically seventeenth-century religious and intellectual crises.

Influenced by such recent revisionist studies of Bayle as those of Elisabeth Labrousse, Rex presents several invaluable case studies that serve to document this theory. The delightful chapter on the "David" article, above all, should become a minor classic of historical sleuthing. Moreover it must be noted that, though at times the author's enthusiasm may seem polemical, on occasion he cheerfully admits the tentative nature of his conclusions: "when all has been said, the mystery of Bayle's faith or lack of it remains." Yet, if Rex has by no means conclusively demolished the traditional view of Bayle as a skeptic, he has done scholarship the real service of demonstrating convincingly the Calvinist context of much of Bayle's important work.

University of Akron

HENRY VYVERBERG

HELVÉTIUS: A STUDY IN PERSECUTION. By *D. W. Smith*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 248. \$5.60.)

IF the point of departure of this tight, scholarly monograph is the *succès de scandale* that Helvétius unfortunately obtained in 1758 through the publication of his *De l'esprit*, it is only a springboard from which the author takes off. His essential concern lies with elaborating the argument that the outcry that Helvétius aroused in the establishment by his foolhardy venture was the culmination of a centurylong struggle between religious, civil, and philosophical forces and groups. The ensuing conflict, he maintains, had the significant if unhappy effect of revitalizing old issues for the moment relatively quiescent. At the same time, it brought to the surface sharp inner differences within each camp. Thus, after an illuminating preliminary account of the circumstances under which Helvétius' work appeared, with *privilège*, and of what happened to the author himself, he goes on to examine the paradoxical play of those forces, first among the several Catholic groups and then, in a final section, among the philosophes.

On the political side, the conflict rekindled or intensified a power struggle between the crown and the Parlement of Paris over control of censorship. Someone had nodded or betrayed. Concurrently, various Catholic groups entered the lists. Ex officio, both Jansenists and Jesuits condemned the epistemology and the ethics of that most materialistic work; with equal ardor each body associated the pernicious doctrines with either the tenets or the practices, when not both, of the other. Most of all, Catholic pamphleteers welcomed an assuredly heaven-sent opportunity to link all philosophes, with Helvétius in the van, in one conspiratorial movement, generally to promote irreligion and specifically to renew the publication of the suspended *Encyclopédie*.

Of conspiracy, however, Smith sees no signs. On the contrary, some of Helvétius' fellow plotters did not cherish him unduly, but that was of little moment in their attitude. There was, in addition to prudential concern for their own security, considerable resentment over the fact that he had both recklessly and need-

lessly given the *dévots* a heavy stick with which they could beat the *Encyclopédie* to death. Their annoyance was great; their support of Helvétius slight. Smith claims that most of the philosophes, notably Rousseau and Diderot, whose refutations he examines in detail, rejected *De l'esprit* because its argument carried them further than they were willing to go. They would not impale themselves on the horn of the dilemma of choosing between a "moral nihilism" which led ultimately to De Sade and "the ethical rigorism of Kant or Catholicism," neither of which they found intellectually appealing (if difficult to controvert) or emotionally comforting. Each in his own way resolved the dichotomy that Helvétius bared for them with satisfaction to his vitals. Shades of Carl Becker and "The Dilemma of Diderot," published in 1915!

The merits of this careful study, based on fresh archival research and independent rereading of the published works, are obvious. It is good to have an older point of view lucidly and vigorously reasserted, good to have it shown how and why the *affaire Helvétius* was bigger than the fate of the man himself and more significant than his "persecution," such as it was. But this work raises questions which, doubtless for lack of space, the author could not examine in depth. Was the *affaire* a culmination, and was the culmination so intellectualist in character? And was the dichotomy in the thinking and the "emoting"—if one may use the strong if vulgar expression—so neatly resolved? One suspects that not all students will readily agree.

New York University

LEO GERSHOY

CHERBOURG À LA FIN DE L'ANCIEN RÉGIME ET AU DÉBUT DE LA RÉVOLUTION. By Georges Lefebvre. [Cahier des Annales de Normandie, Number 4.] (Caen: [the Annales.] 1965. Pp. 295. 20 fr.)

GEORGES Lefebvre, at his death in 1959, left two manuscripts, one of which became his *Études orléanaises* (1962, 1963), the other the present study of Cherbourg. The latter comes as a surprise—possibly intended by the author. It is not Lefebvre's last, but his first book, apparently written between 1899 and 1903 while he was teaching at the *Lycée de Cherbourg*.

Based on documents in the *Archives communales* and the *Bibliothèque municipale*, the book is a social, economic, and institutional description of Cherbourg and its inhabitants on the eve and in the early stages of the Revolution. Albert Soboul, who edited the manuscript, is unable to explain why it had not been published, but he reports that it was finished even to the dedication, and he apparently does not think that the author had ever revised it. We have reason to believe, therefore, that Lefebvre wrote this book during the period when Jean Jaurès' *Histoire socialiste* was appearing (1901–1904), and since Lefebvre acknowledged Jaurès to be the principal influence on his attitude toward history and historical research, the book is of unusual historiographical interest as well as of value for its contents. Although it seems unlikely that this substantial, largely factual monograph was ever changed in its basic documentation, it is difficult to imagine Lefebvre not even touching the manuscript during half a century, and one wonders whether he did not at least trim it to its present state of succinctness. There is in any case no doubt that Lefebvre already appreciated questions of subsistence (see the appendix on prices and wages), of class relationships, and of crowd psychol-

ogy. His book, besides illustrating how institutions worked on the local level, has a narrative of the popular outbreaks and political and military changes at Cherbourg, including the role of Dumouriez as the local military commander.

There are no youthful indiscretions in this account, which resembles *Quatre-vingt-neuf* (1939) in its mixture of topical descriptions with narrative and in the effacement of the author. Indeed, *Cherbourg* anticipates most of the qualities of Lefebvre's later work: the painstaking care, the rather overwhelming documentation, the appreciation of economic and social material, the sense of nuances in political and social relationships, the difficult passages, the lucid summaries—everything except the heights of style and perspective by which, in his later works of synthesis, he was able to relieve his ordinarily rather spare and factual presentation. This book from Lefebvre's apprenticeship is entirely spare and factual, but it has scarcely aged at all.

Swarthmore College

PAUL H. BEIK

LA RÉVOLUTION ET LA LIBERTÉ DE LA PRESSE. By Raymond Manevy.
(n. p.: Éditions Estienne. 1964. Pp. 107.)

DURING World War II the newspaperman and *homme de lettres* Raymond Manevy shielded his work for the resistance behind an innocent scholarly activity: a history of French journalism. His researches resulted in *L'histoire de la presse, 1914-1939* (1945), and *La presse de la Troisième République* (1955), and his career was crowned with the presidency of the *Centre de Formation des Journalistes*.

Following Manevy's recent death, the Éditions Estienne have published another manuscript that he prepared during the war. It is a documentary account of the search by the revolutionaries for an equitable press law from the summer of 1789 through the *coup* of Fructidor. Manevy inserts brief descriptive passages, but for the most part focuses his attention on the debates over the press that occupied the deputies. Mirabeau and Sieyès established the theme for the debates: to reconcile the idea of a newly liberated press, reporting and commenting upon political issues during a time of crisis, with legislation defining the grounds for libel and sedition. Two schools of thought developed. The first, that of Mirabeau, Pétion, Jean-Bon Saint-André, and Boissy d'Anglas, was libertarian, adopting as its primary assumption sacred, untrammelled freedom of expression for all journalists. The other, that of Sieyès, Malouet, M.-J. Chénier, and Louvet, was more restrictive, emphasizing above all the necessity for defining clear limits to such freedom. Manevy's sympathies are with the libertarians, and he has much admiration for Marat and Desmoulins.

La révolution et la liberté de la presse makes no attempt to approach the great problem of correlating public opinion and the newspapers. Nor does it delve very deeply into the motives of the deputies concerned with establishing the press law. The quotations are not footnoted, and the tempo of the study is at times nearly frenetic. Judged by the meticulous standards of present-day scholarship, this dramatic book would be called "semipopular." It serves to remind one, however, that the works on the revolutionary press by Hatin and Söderhjelm are woefully outdated, and a new synthesis is crying to be written.

University of Oregon

RAYMOND BIRN

BABEUF: GLEICH UND UNGLEICH. By *Karl Hans Bergmann*. (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag. 1965. Pp. 622. DM 28.)

THIS solid book is quite literally a biography, a detailed gathering together of the written traces of a life, with minimal attention to historical generalization. Bergmann admires Babeuf as a dedicated social democrat and precursor of a righteous cause. Yet his emphasis on the proletarian phases (an anachronistic term he does not use) of the French Revolution seems less motivated by sociological theory than by a desire to be dramatic. This desire is by no means unfulfilled, especially as the "conspiracy of the equals" reaches its climax in the trial at Vendôme. Yet in spite of what to an English-speaking person seems an excessive use of the historical present and a concomitant novelist's entry into the minds and hearts of his subjects, this is by no means a *biographie romancée*.

Indeed, the author has combed the vast mass of source material and secondary writing on Babeuf and his colleagues right up to the present (Soboul, Rudé, Godechot, and, of course, Dommanget, back in time to Buonarrotti). The footnotes, gathered together after the text and conveniently numbered consecutively, not by chapter, the bibliography, and the *Personenregister* take up 130 pages and in themselves make the book essential for all concerned with the history of the French Revolution and with the origins of contemporary socialism, Communism, and revolutionary techniques. The *Personenregister* in particular is no mere index of proper names, but a series of thumbnail biographies, many dealing with some very obscure militants for whom any piece of information is useful. Babeuf's actions are recounted in great but useful detail, which embraces much of the activities of such men as Darthé, Drouet (of Varennes fame), Sylvain Maréchal, and many others.

The dust jacket of the book suggests, though not very specifically, comparison with Zweig's *Fouché* and Duff Cooper's *Talleyrand*. Perhaps a German reading public will find Bergmann's book comparable, as good general reading, with those two notable publishing successes, but this seems doubtful. It is written in good average German, without much distinction even though it lacks the convolutions of the most profound German periodic prose. But the book is just too detailed, too close an account of political infighting, to have a wide appeal.

There is always lack of generosity, and no doubt some unfairness, when a reviewer complains that a book is not the book he would like to see written. Bergmann's eschewal of psychology—beyond what still serves the good social democrat as common sense—sociology, comparative history, and other fashionable ways of getting at man, that political animal, is in some ways an asset and will certainly be welcomed by many who regret current fashion in this field. At a minimal estimate, this thorough account of Gracchus Babeuf, christened François-Noël, should help us understand what makes men revolutionaries, indeed professional revolutionaries, and therefore (surely not a *non sequitur*) what makes revolutions.

Harvard University

CRANE BRINTON

JEAN-MARIE ROLAND ET LE MINISTÈRE DE L'INTÉRIEUR (1792-1793). By *Edith Bernardin*. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire révolutionnaire, Series 3, Number 2.] (Paris: Société des Études Robespierristes. 1964. Pp. xv, 667.)

A *thèse du doctorat* on Roland's life and work has been converted, by direction of

a doctoral committee, into a study of the Ministry of the Interior under the Constitution of 1791, mainly but not entirely for the nine months in 1792-1793 when Roland held the office. For two reasons, however, the book ranges far beyond these limits. First, the author includes 164 pages on the attitudes, motives, discussions, compromises, and laws that gave birth to the ministries and on the relationships between the Ministers, on the one hand, and the King, the assemblies, their committees, and agencies of local government on the other. In this section she also takes up the baffling question of ministerial responsibility and the rationale of appointments, resignations, and dismissals. Second, the vast functions of the Ministry of the Interior engaged it deeply with the political and economic life of the country. It was charged with surveillance over the eighty-three departments, the execution of laws, public order, elections, agriculture, commerce, industry, public buildings, hospitals, poor relief, and public works. Its papers are therefore loaded with details on problems that laws were enacted to solve, defects of the laws, and the lethargy, independence, or resistance of local councils which sometimes resorted to illegal and unconstitutional measures that the Minister was unable to overrule. In other words, this study is a valuable, though incomplete, contribution toward a history of the executive branch established by the Constitution of 1791. It is also probably our best account of the Constitution in practice. Although lacking in unity, it is comprehensive, superbly documented, carefully written, in many ways revisionist, and essential to an understanding of the political and constitutional history of the early Revolution. No specialist can afford to ignore it.

Mlle. Bernardin makes it clear that the Constitution of 1791 left the Ministers little freedom of action. The National Assembly, suspicious of the Ministers of the old regime, distrusted those of the new and, in the name of the separation of powers, placed them in a baffling and frustrating situation. Charged with overseeing the execution of laws, they were forbidden to interpret, criticize, or suspend them, issue regulations, request new legislation, or recommend that the old be revised. Their budgets, which the assemblies drew up, were usually restrictive. Yet, although they had no official part in formulating policy, they were accountable for the results of what they did. Every act of the King required the countersign of a Minister, and there were legislators who held the Ministers accessorially responsible for the results. The legislators saw them as enemies and censured them, often unreasonably, at every opportunity, and their relationships with the King were also difficult. A Minister who had the King's confidence was doubly distrusted by the assemblies, and one respected by the assemblies was distrusted by the King.

Yet Roland, in spite of the limitations and contradictions of his position, managed to be more than an instrument manipulated by others. Like other Ministers, he collaborated with committees of the assemblies that prepared legislative proposals, refused to countersign a royal veto, and rebuked the King in a public letter that caused his dismissal from office. In his correspondence with the departments he won the respect of many local administrators, and by actively using the propaganda funds allotted him after August 10, 1792, enhanced his reputation outside Paris. He was devoted to work and demanded much of his subordinates. Instinctively economical, he ruthlessly scaled down expenses. On the other hand, he showed himself unimaginative and, what was worse, sensitive, quarrelsome, and somewhat vindictive.

The correspondence of the Ministry of the Interior illuminates the old question of whether the Constitution of 1791, by decentralizing administration, threw the country into confusion. Local authorities, by virtue of their being elected rather than appointed, were given to a troublesome independence of action. On the other hand, they showed a remarkable concern for legality and constantly asked the Minister to advise them on applying laws, resolving contradictions between laws, and deciding jurisdictional disputes; the result was a larger measure of coordination than is usually credited to the first revolutionary government.

This book has much to recommend it. It contains an extremely valuable section on the administrative bureaus of the Interior Ministry, the work, the Minister's daily activities, the personnel, their salaries, and the degree to which employees of the old regime were carried over into the new. It offers nineteen pages on Roland's career before entering the Ministry. The documentation is massive and scrupulously exploited. In dealing with legislative debates, the author has searched obscure Parisian journals and collections of *imprimés* for speeches omitted from the *Archives parlementaires*, the *Moniteur*, and the better-known newspapers. She has exploited many manuscript depositories and archives, and her command of the secondary literature is quite astonishing.

University of North Carolina

GEORGE V. TAYLOR

MARSHAL MASSENA. By *James Marshall-Cornwall*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 319. \$6.75.)

AMONG the marshals that Napoleon created, André Masséna, duke of Rivoli and prince of Essling, was one of the best. But today, Masséna is less well known than, for example, Ney, Murat, or Berthier. One of the reasons for his relative obscurity is the fact that an authoritative biography of this colorful general had not been written. Sir James Marshall-Cornwall, a general himself, undertook to close this gap. His scholarly account of Masséna's life, as it unfolds against the backdrop of the Napoleonic Wars, illuminates an era of turmoil that reshaped Europe.

This book will fascinate military historians. The author is most successful in describing the terrain of such varied campaigns as those on the present-day Riviera, in Piedmont, Lombardy, Venetia, Austria, Switzerland, and Portugal. Only a historian who walked across the battle sites and carefully researched contemporary records and maps could re-create for his readers a true feeling of how it must have been when Napoleon's armies clashed with those of the Archduke Charles, Suvorov, or Wellington.

The author writes with welcome economy of style and concentration on essentials. Yet his hero comes to life: in his relations with Napoleon, the plethora of other marshals and generals, and even the ladies of his heart. In this respect, even the general reader, who may be less absorbed by the long sequence of battles and sieges, may learn much about the vagaries of life in times of revolution and upheaval. Conflicts of conscience and loyalty formed Masséna's character as much as the bloody battles he fought. The author is scrupulous in weighing the statements of Masséna's contemporaries, friend and foe alike. He concludes that Masséna was an extremely able tactician and strategist—among the few capable of commanding an army independently—an inspiring leader of men, but a poor ad-

ministrator, whose greatest failings were greed and a weakness for women.

This book is recommended for historians and military history buffs. Indeed, on a trip through Europe, this book could well serve as a *vade mecum* supplementing the good old Baedeker. The carefully prepared maps are helpful and the illustrations well chosen.

Washington, D. C.

CHARLES VON LUTTICHAU

NAPOLÉON AU CONSEIL D'ÉTAT: NOTES ET PROCÈS-VERBAUX INÉDITS DE JEAN-GUILLAUME LOCRÉ, SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL DU CONSEIL D'ÉTAT. By *Jean Bourdon*. (Paris: Éditions Berger-Levrault. 1963. Pp. 330. 28 fr.)

A CENTRAL motor of Napoleon's administration was the consultative Council of State, composed of able administrators and experts and frequently presided over by Napoleon. It drafted the projects of laws and administrative regulations, resolved conflicts of attribution between the administration and tribunals, checked on the operation of a ministry and reviewed its reports when requested, heard complaints against decisions of administrators, and initiated judicial pursuits against governmental agents other than ministers. Because of the council's importance and because its archives were destroyed in the fire that consumed the Tuileries in 1871, any new evidence enlightening its operation is exceedingly welcome. The council's secretary, Jean-Guillaume Locré, retained a copy of the minutes of the discourses of Napoleon from 1810 to 1813 and the envioning discussion. A substantial fragment of this copy has been recovered; perfectly edited by Jean Bourdon, it is here published for the first time.

The new evidence illustrates and confirms the basic description already contained in the magisterial volumes of Charles Durand: *Études sur le Conseil d'État napoléonien* (1949), *Le fonctionnement du Conseil d'État napoléonien* (1954), and *Les Auditeurs au Conseil d'État de 1803 à 1814* (1958). As Durand observes, by 1810 the fundamental institutions of the Empire had already been created and the five codes of law had been completed. Discussion in the council concerned implementation of basic decisions previously made and current events and ranged over a variety of issues from the marriage of priests to the circulation of grain. The projected laws under discussion pertained to judicial reform, financial measures, economic-administrative action, religious quarrels, foreign affairs, and military organization. Except on issues engaging his resentments against the pope and the English, Napoleon allowed a remarkable freedom of discussion. Even in his most authoritarian period, he really wished to know, to be enlightened, and to have all the angles of an issue considered. Along the way he expressed and defended his opinion, and occasionally offered those observations about himself or human nature that formed part of the delight of his conversation. "The cause of actions is too difficult to discover. What eye can penetrate to the bottom of the heart?" Although the new evidence contains few surprises, it measurably augments and substantiates our knowledge of the later years of the Napoleonic regime.

Duke University

HAROLD T. PARKER

LES GRANDS NOTABLES EN FRANCE (1840-1849): ÉTUDE HISTORIQUE D'UNE PSYCHOLOGIE SOCIALE. In two volumes. By *André-Jean Tudesq*. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Paris, Series "Recherches," Numbers 20 and 21.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964. Pp. 558; 567-1277. 40 fr.; 50 fr.)

THIS important work is characteristic of the new style of French history: selecting a group for intensive archival study with due attention to the provinces, employing the latest findings of sociology, and emphasizing economic history and statistics. Mr. Tudesq has chosen as his group the *grands notables*, the directing class of the July Monarchy, and has followed them through the years of triumph and into the disaster of 1848. These *grands notables* can be simply defined as those who paid more than one thousand francs in taxes, but Tudesq has not avoided any of the complexities of definition. Indeed, his first five hundred pages are devoted to a static portrait of this "class." He then abandons sociology, sets his group into motion, and writes a fresh history of the latter half of the July Monarchy.

Though the work is long on details and relatively short on generalizations, important conclusions inescapably arise. We are shown the total lack of harmony between the *notables*, largely provincial in origin, and the Parisian bourgeoisie; thus, Tudesq locates the true fault line along which the middle class was splitting and one of the important explanations for its collapse in 1848. Further, he has convincingly demonstrated what was only dimly realized by a few at the time (Fonfrède and Donoso-Cortés), that these rulers of the middle class were themselves hopelessly split into factions. Rejected by the legitimists who never rallied to the July Monarchy, they divided furiously on such issues as the university, economic policy, attitude toward England, and above all foreign policy. From the Middle Eastern crisis of 1840 through the election of 1846 and the economic crisis of the next year, Tudesq portrays a ruling class in a state of constant civil war. Thus, the Revolution of 1848 emerges in his view not as the result of the struggle of rival classes, but as the climax of a series of conflicts within the middle class during which the *notables* lost their will, energy, belief, and even their appetite for power. We come to a truer understanding of that mysterious event, February 1848—the one revolution in nineteenth-century France that succeeded in the absence of any great national desire for change. And, finally, Tudesq carries his inquiry across the usual line of demarcation and follows his *notables* through their year of defeat and discovery. We are made to see how a group that had lacked cohesion and even a sense of survival in triumph developed these qualities in defeat. The *notables* who had scarcely thought of themselves as a class and had little understanding of the social question, when faced with the threat of social revolution, learned the value of solidarity, developed a common ideology, and began to take on the shape of a "class." As a result, after the election of 1849, they found themselves in control of the Second Republic, which they had tried so hard to prevent and which they had done so much to create.

Yale University

STANLEY MELLON

THE RALLIEMENT IN FRENCH POLITICS, 1890-1898. By *Alexander Sedgwick*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LXXIV.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965. Pp. xi, 183. \$4.95.)

THIS is a study of the *Ralliement*, which, according to Sedgwick, was not simply a

reconciliation between French Catholics and the republic in response to the admonitions of the Pope, but was an attempt on the part of some French Royalists, Bonapartists, and Opportunists to form a broad, conservative party that would abandon fruitless monarchist aims, work for more harmonious relations between Church and state, curb the growth of socialism, and endeavor to solve the economic and social problems of the day. As Dansette has shown, such a party was favored by Pope Leo XIII, who hoped that by establishing better relations with the French government he might end the diplomatic isolation of the Vatican, gain an ally in his effort to recover temporal power, restore the authority of the Church, and reunite French Catholics. Although the famous toast of Cardinal Lavigerie at Algiers in 1890 is often considered as the beginning of the *Ralliement*, Sedgwick points out that this was actually the fifth attempt in five years to form an effective political organization on the Right. He traces in much detail the rise and decline of these conservative and Catholic political groups and their relations with the Opportunists from 1885 to 1898. Although he thinks that the effects of the *Ralliement*, such as the increase in the number of adherents to the republic and the union of the Right and Left Center groups for the first time since 1875, were minor, he declares that the movement was significant because it represented an attempt on the part of Conservatives to adapt themselves to changing conditions. He attributes the failure of the *Ralliement* not to the Dreyfus affair, but to the inability of some to make such an adjustment; to disunity among the Catholics; to the opposition of prefects, *notables*, and priests to centralized direction; to inadequate leadership; and to the reluctance of Opportunists to give up their practice of forming "concentration" governments with the Radicals and their refusal to revise the laic laws. The Dreyfus affair only enabled the opponents of the *Ralliement* to justify their rigid adherence to traditional political affiliations and to make political capital out of the crisis.

Sedgwick is the first to have used extensively the unpublished notebooks and correspondence of Étienne Lamy, leader of the *Ralliement* from 1896 to 1898. He has also consulted the archives of the *Ministère des Cultes* (F 19 series), parliamentary debates, newspapers, periodicals, and memoirs, as well as scholarly secondary sources. Following Lamy, he views the Congress at Rheims in 1896 as more conservative and political in tone than does René Rémond in his book *Les Deux Congrès ecclésiastiques de Reims et de Bourges (1896-1900)* (1964). Sedgwick's analysis of the relations between the Opportunists and the *Ralliement* is not as thorough as his study of the Rightist groups and might well have been integrated with the chapters on the *Ralliement* to avoid repetition. His comments on the extent of anticlerical feeling in the 1890's are somewhat contradictory. In describing Léon Bourgeois's Radical ministry in 1895, in which Émile Combes was Minister of Cults, he says that they did not try to hasten separation of Church and state, but he omits any reference to their rigid enforcement of the laic laws and proposal for an associations law, which would have restricted the activities of the religious orders. He errs in implying that Waldeck-Rousseau retired temporarily from politics in 1885. On the whole, this study adds to our understanding of the complex political forces of the *Ralliement* and the reasons for its failure.

State University College, New Paltz, New York

EVELYN M. ACOMB

LA GRANDE DIVISION DES TRAVAILLEURS: PREMIÈRE SCISSION DE LA C.G.T. (1914-1921). By *Maurice Labi*. (Paris: Éditions Ouvrières. 1964. Pp. 332. 27.75 fr.)

LA C.G.T. À L'ÉPOQUE DU FRONT POPULAIRE, 1934-1939: ESSAI DESCRIPTION NUMÉRIQUE. By *Antoine Prost*. [Cahiers de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, Number 129.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1964. Pp. viii, 242. 22 fr.)

MAURICE Labi is a union activist, a member of the Left Wing of *Force Ouvrière*, who brings the sympathies of this background, so unusual for scholarship in France or the United States, to his detailed, patient account of the crises that culminated in the split of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) in 1921. He has worked from printed sources, but, unlike so many writers on the labor movement, he has gone beyond the confederation level to that of the individual unions, notably the metal workers, who have played a critical role in labor history. He has also interviewed survivors of both the reformist and revolutionary wings of the CGT of his period.

A believer in the generous myth of the solidarity of the working class, Labi is tortured by the question: was the CGT split inevitable? He divides the responsibilities among the leaders of all shades of opinion; the rank and file hardly knew what the leadership struggles were about. His own attachment is to the *libertaires* or pure revolutionary syndicalists, those *grands vaincus de l'histoire*, defeated first by the reformist turn of the prewar and wartime leadership and then by the Communists with whom they joined in order to fight the reformists. Soon after the split, the frustrated *libertaires* separated from the Communists. But the basic incompatibilities in attitudes toward political action and the democratic state, toward union democracy and toward dictation by the Soviet Union, were still as deep when the reformist CGT and the Communist *Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire* agreed, over the reformists' somber misgivings, to merge in a reunited CGT. This is the period that most of Prost's fascinating book describes, after some astute analysis of developments in the rival confederations between the 1921 split and the 1936 reunification.

Prost corrects some *idées reçues* repeated since popular front days. The rush into the unions at the time of the popular front was slower than has been thought; it brought in fewer members than many writers have said, on the strength of the CGT claims of the period; and a major part of the gains in membership (tremendous even after being scaled down) were held longer than has been thought, despite CGT setbacks and the mounting bitterness of conflict within the formally united organization.

The confederation archives were dispersed in 1940, and union archives at lower echelons are too fragmentary for systematic comparisons over time and among different unions and groups of unions. Like Labi, Prost has worked from printed sources, but he uses many more national union and departmental and local union journals.

Prost's methods add new dimensions to our knowledge of labor history and of methods of further research. Discussing his own methods and his hopes of better working relationships between history and the social sciences, Prost is sensible, imaginative, and modest. His compilations of figures are all relevant, and his

statistical correlations are all at the service of a series of significant hypotheses. Even where these methods seem to contribute nothing new, they tell us "how far we really know" what we thought we knew. He believes "in the fecundity of the statistical rebuff," for it tells one when he has to drop the search for objective causes, notably social structure, and go on to the psychological or the historical events as causes. Where statistical methods invalidate a succession of hypotheses, he returns to shrewd traditional social and political history in a search for the roots of later differentiations.

University of Oregon

VAL R. LORWIN

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS (1932-1939). First Series (1932-1935). Volume I (9 JUILLET-14 NOVEMBRE 1932). [Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre 1939-1945.] (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1964. Pp. lxiii, 743.)

THIS second in the new French series of volumes covering the period 1932-1939 maintains in every respect the high standards of editing that characterized the earlier volume on the first half of 1936. In the present volume the work of the editors was both lightened and enhanced by the fact that the files of the Quai d'Orsay for the latter half of 1932 were found to be in surprisingly good order despite war and fire.

The five months documented in this volume were signalized by three major international issues: the German demand at Geneva for equality of treatment (*Gleichberechtigung*) in armaments; the post-Lausanne hopes of Britain and France to write off war debts as they had written off reparations; and Japan's defiance of the League and the Lytton Report. Equally significant for the future of international relations were the ominous rumblings of the impending collapse of democracy in Germany. All four of these subjects receive complete coverage in this volume, along with a variety of smaller, bilateral subjects that complete the picture of France's foreign relations during this period.

All in all, it was a dreary five months. Ambassador François-Poncet and his principal assistants at Berlin saw clearly the dismal shape of things to come, and one is reminded that Hitler was not the only German leader who the French thought might march either *Reichswehr* or armed police detachments into the demilitarized zone one fine day. The seriousness of the threat prompted War Minister Paul-Boncour to ask Foreign Minister Herriot for a formal expression of his views as a basis for military planning before the Germans marched. Herriot's reply judiciously analyzed the possibilities and the legalities that might arise and then concluded that France would doubtless take such a violation of treaty law to the Council of the League and that otherwise France would have to be guided by the circumstances of the actual case. In view of this indecision it is no wonder that Paul-Boncour's successors had no sure plan by March 7, 1936. More tragic was the French government's reluctance to bring itself, in this eleventh hour of 1932, to concede gracefully while there was still an elected government in Germany.

Concerning the other side of the world, the volume reveals that the Japanese government, pushed by its military leaders, made several overtures to France, looking toward a rapprochement or even an alliance. Herriot suggested that all such

approaches be "eluded courteously," leaving the Japanese under no illusion that France would do anything but support the League and the sanctity of treaties, particularly those of Washington. M. Massigli, then deputy delegate at the Geneva Disarmament Conference, reported on the excellent authority of Hugh Wilson that the United States position on the German demand for arms equality would doubtless be influenced by how well France supported Stimson in Manchuria. Thus East and West did meet, and the United States (despite its self-proclaimed isolation) supplied an important element of the linkage.

Department of State

WILLIAM M. FRANKLIN

LYON CAPITALE, 1940-1944. By *Henri Amoretti*. (Paris: Éditions France-Empire. 1964. Pp. 418.)

DURING the last decade substantial and perceptive studies of World War II resistance movements in France have appeared with increasing frequency. Much digging remains to be done, of course, and the clandestine nature of resistance groups has left many questions unanswered. One promising area of exploration beginning to receive serious attention is the study of local regions during the war years. M. Henri Amoretti's examination of Lyons through two German occupations, the Vichy period, and finally liberation, is an attempt to treat a single area in depth.

Lyons is an excellent choice for a detailed study of a French city from 1940 to 1944. Unfortunately, however, the author does not provide the reader with a satisfactory understanding of the "resistance capital" during the war. Amoretti, a journalist writing for *Le Progrès* until the newspaper suspended publication late in 1942, modestly insists: "nous ne prétendons pas citer tous les Lyonnais qui se distinguèrent dans les années 1940-1944." Even so, it is impossible to avoid the feeling that every available name has been squeezed between the book's covers, generally without assessment or elaboration. The book, as a result, is most valuable as a kind of reference work. It lacks a solid treatment of resistance ideology and falls short of demonstrating clearly the special position of Lyons within the resistance as a whole.

The book's organization contributes to, or at least underlines, the lack of perspective. After beginning with a chronological treatment of the war years, the author shifts from a time sequence to descriptions (often fragmentary) of individuals, incidents, and institutions. Attempts to link the separate episodes together frequently miss the mark. A section of documents at the end constitutes a useful appendix (notably a list of clandestine newspapers and the organizational structure and leaders of FFI forces in the Rhône). Curiously, though a number of recent studies of the resistance are listed in the bibliography, only one volume from the "Esprit de la Résistance" series is listed, and there is no reference to the works of the leading French authority in this field, Henri Michel.

Despite the many questions never raised and never answered, the information compiled in this detailed study surely will serve as a platform for future studies of the same region, and Amoretti has contributed to our knowledge of resistance activities in the Lyons area.

Arizona State University

W. E. ADAMS

THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS AND TRIPARTISME, 1944-1947. By B. D. Graham. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. 299. \$6.75.)

SCHOLARS familiar with the tribulations of the SFIO during the immediate post-war period may find this book useful as a handy collection of data, but they will certainly find nothing new or different in it. Dr. Graham, lecturer in politics at the University of Sussex, has simply retold the well-known story, basing his account on published sources—newspapers, memoirs, and official documents—that are easily available. He has no new interpretation to suggest, no new insights to offer, no new facts to add to those already known. His book even lacks a conclusion in which he might have tried to justify his expenditure of so much effort on a subject that has been explored so thoroughly by Wright, Fauvet, Williams, and many others.

The bibliography is adequate, and the maps, showing the geographical distribution of Socialist votes and of factional strength within the party, are interesting.

Rutgers University

CARTER JEFFERSON

CRÓNICA DEL EMPERADOR CARLOS V. By *Pedro Girón*. Edited by *Juan Sánchez Montes*. Foreword by *Peter Rassow*. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela de Historia Moderna; distrib. by Librería Científica Medinaceli, Madrid. 1964. Pp. lix, 617. 390 ptas.)

THIRTY-SIX years ago the late Peter Rassow announced a find he had made in the *Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid: miscellaneous notes by a Dr. Pedro Girón, which were written, chiefly, in the decade 1530-1540. These papers were bound with, and mixed among, others in a volume containing manuscripts from the sixteenth to eighteenth century. Rassow, who painstakingly assembled the collection that he took to be notes for a projected history of Charles V, named it "The Chronicle of Pedro Girón." He never edited it, as he had planned to do. This has now been accomplished with Juan Sánchez Montes' publication of the complete material. A reprint (in Spanish translation) of Rassow's original article in *Abhandlungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur* (1929) forms a prologue.

Girón, a jurist from a Castilian middle-class family, was a minor government official, a "letrado" like hundreds of others who composed Spain's new sixteenth-century bureaucracy. He was no writer, no humanist, no critic of either form or content, as Rassow remarks (nor, as the naïve tenor of this "Chronicle" shows, of men and events). He did, however, have aspirations toward historiography. He left an unordered heap of about three hundred folios, many mere fragments (referring to a mixture of events either trivial or long since well known), with gaps in time, and names and dates missing. The only order among the heterogeneous documents was that of chronology.

Sánchez Montes contributed supplementary research in the archive of Simancas. He divided Rassow's material into the so-called "Chronicle" and a collection of what can only be called Girón's "source material." Sánchez Montes edited the papers with meticulous scholarship, adding copious textual annotations, general notes, summaries, indexes, and a bibliography. The last is excellent except for Sánchez' acceptance of Voigt's erroneous attribution to Ávila y Zúñiga of the

anonymous "Lo de la Goleta y Túnez, año de 1535," *Colección de documentos inéditos*, Volume I (1842).

Sánchez admits being somewhat generous in calling this opus a "Chronicle of the Emperor Charles V." The student of this Emperor and his times will not, in fact, find here anything equaling, or even significantly complementing, the contemporary chronicles by Santa Cruz, Mexía, López de Gómara, and others. Girón lived through only seventeen years of Charles V's almost forty years of governing Spain. His material touches on a span of ten or eleven years (1530-1541). Even within this period Girón had close information of the Emperor for no more than three or four years. Except for a few curious happenings between 1533 and 1535 (when Charles V was in Spain), this "Chronicle of the Emperor" tells little that is new about him. Yet it presents a little more information on the first half of the sixteenth century in Spain, a field where so much is still to be explored; it is interesting also as a reflection of the mind and work of this "letrado," with his limited capacities and superficial interests.

Westport, Connecticut

ERIKA SPIVAKOVSKY

LA CAMPAGNE DE NOUVELLE CASTILLE À LA FIN DU XVI^e SIÈCLE D'APRÈS LES *RELACIONES TOPOGRÁFICAS*. By Noël Salomon. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Les hommes et la terre, Number 9.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1964. Pp. 379.)

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY New Castile included two imperial capitals, Toledo and Madrid, but few other cities; the majority of the population inhabited places of 100 to 1,000 hearths. Mr. Salomon bases his study on Philip II's *Relaciones*, surveys compiled from lists of questions put to selected informants (57 questions in 1575; 45 in 1578) and comprising social and economic descriptions of 550 relevant places. The author shows their size and regime, agriculture, stock raising, crafts and trade, and discusses landownership, *señorío*, the burden of taxation, and classes and wealth.

Salomon sets out to demonstrate that the lot of the peasant had become intolerable by the time of the *Relaciones*, rather than later as a consequence of events and policies of the early seventeenth century. "Juan Labrador" had been released from servile tenure since 1480 and "crossed the threshold of modern times with his head held high, a free and independent man whose ancestors had never known absolute serfdom." But the conquest of America increased the volume of monetary transactions and enabled others to purchase his land for investment and saddle him with money rents and usurious charges, under which he collapsed.

Salomon tells us that his study issues from a work on the peasant in the Spanish theater. He might have explained that the cycle of dramas with peasant heroes dates from the following century: Juan Labrador is a character in Lope's *El villano en su rincón* (1614-15), a wealthy peasant who has no desire to see the court, but boasts of his readiness to give the king all he has out of loyalty. The king visits him incognito, receives a lesson in Castilian hospitality and pride, and later accepts a loan of 100,000 *écus*. (The play is set near Paris!) Juan Labrador is at

the height of his prosperity; yet, according to Salomon, his land and livelihood should have been lost in the time of his father, also Juan.

Lope knew the Toledan countryside at firsthand, but evidently indulged a vein of bucolic idealism traceable to Guevara and Erasmus. Salomon is also a dramatic writer, whose theatrical effects relate to "a method of research inspired by Marxism [which] will be reproached as such. . . ." Sánchez Albornoz and others have shown that the Spanish seigniorial regime was not a feudal system. This does not matter, for Salomon notes that the French Constituent Assembly and the Spanish Cortes of Cádiz were unaware of the distinction and asks: "Why seek to revise a duly consecrated linguistic usage attached to a precise historical evolution?" Why, indeed, if dogma requires us to think that these two bodies were more precise in their historical knowledge than Sánchez Albornoz?

The author's conclusions overstep the facts at his disposal. In calculating the burden of taxation, he shows that the ancient seigniorial dues were unimportant and emphasizes the tithe and ground rents. Certainly, if Juan Labrador gave up more than half the harvest before the institution of the "servicios de millones" after 1590, he must then have been crushed at once, but a historical interpretation of these events would require a study of Philip's taxation policy from 1560, and this we are not given.

From Braudel's "seigniorial reaction," Salomon deduces a "vast movement of alienation" under Charles V, that is, the transfer of royal villages to the nobility. But of twenty-five places described as alienated by Charles, seventeen came from the orders. Philip II recovered more places from the orders and Church than he bestowed. Some disposal of traditionally "royal" villages occurred, but the factor that upset the ancient balance was the secularization of the orders. In making his picture of an "offensive" or "assault on the commons" by the crown, Church, nobles, towns, and rich peasants, Salomon quotes seven cases where places assert that they have been deprived of their rights and affirms his belief that such incidents occurred everywhere. He then jumps to 1592, when the disposal of *baldíos* brought protests in the Cortes.

The author's analysis of the rural population is challenging. The rural hidalgos were few; some were of doubtful status, and some were farmers. *Villanos ricos* had up to thirteen thousand ducats (a "bourgeoisie paysanne"). *Labradores* (but not necessarily *labradoras*) thought little of acquiring noble status, as Lope said. But *labradores* do not seem to have formed a clear social class, and the rest, *trabajadores* or *jornaleros*, were not a horde of "veritable pariahs." Salomon's idea that "tener de que comer" is to eat, and "no tener de que comer" is to starve is a misinterpretation; the distinction is between having land and not having it.

Salomon does not touch on the purpose of the *Relaciones* or the use made of them. The very suspicion that they were for taxation would affect the replies. A few villages boast of their soil, water, crops, or famous men, but there is a veil of rustic caution here. An inquiry in June 1965 at a village near Cuenca elicited the model answer: "Here we have something of everything and not too much of anything."

It would be ungenerous to reproach Salomon for his long labors, but with less bigotry they would have borne more fruit.

Turckenhams, England

H. V. LIVERMORE

LA GUERRA DE SUCESIÓN EN VALENCIA. By *Pedro Voltes Bou*. ([Valencia:] Instituto Valenciano de Estudios Históricos, Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, Diputación Provincial de Valencia; distrib. by Librería Científica Medinaceli, Madrid. 1964. Pp. 211. 75 ptas.)

THIS brief study of the War of the Spanish Succession in Valencia is a side product of Pedro Voltes Bou's doctoral thesis on the government of the Habsburg pretender in Barcelona during the war. It consists of a series of independent chapters on various aspects of the military campaigns and political developments and is neither systematic nor very interpretive. Voltes has uncovered the records of the Archduke Charles of Austria in the *Archivo Histórico Nacional*. These, together with military dispatches and contemporary printed sources, provide the materials for his study. The last half of the book publishes the most important documents, notably records of the council of the Archduke in Valencia in 1706-1707.

Voltes believes that the war came out of a crisis of *Weltanschauung* in seventeenth-century Spain. According to him, Philip V defeated the Archduke because the former represented the forces of the future: centralization, alliance of crown and middle class, and association with France against the common colonial enemy, Great Britain. The book hardly develops these theses, however.

Voltes' most original discoveries concern the relations of the Archduke with Valencia. In 1706 he set up a junta in Valencia composed of his favorites, evidently out of distrust of the traditional institutions there. One suspects that the privileges of the province were doomed to suffer, whoever won the war. He also discouraged a proposal of the governing bodies of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia to raise a joint army to support him. The victory of Bourbon over Habsburg becomes more comprehensible.

This book presents traditional military and political history, with long quotations from the sources and few conclusions from the author. Such is the treatment, in the last chapters, of Philip V's destruction of the *fueros* and financial privileges of Valencia. The reader is left to do his own digesting.

University of California, Berkeley

RICHARD HERR

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SPANISH TEXTILE INDUSTRY, 1750-1800. By *James Clayburn La Force, Jr.* [Publications of the Bureau of Business and Economic Research, University of California, Los Angeles.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 210. \$5.00.)

How a government endeavored to promote economic growth led the author to study the concerted drive of the Spanish crown between 1750 and 1800 to develop the textile industry, which has so often been in the vanguard of economic change. The eighteenth-century Bourbon monarchs and enlightened ministers of Spain undertook many projects to modernize their country, with perhaps the most systematic effort going into the one considered here. Artisans were recruited, even pirated, from other countries in the hope that their techniques would be diffused throughout the peninsula. The crown established royal mills, some of them very large and advanced, and chartered a number of joint-stock companies to produce and distribute textiles. Slowly, the strangle hold that the craft guilds had long maintained on economic expansion was removed, and attempts were made to re-

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form taxation, tariffs, and colonial trade and to overcome other trade obstacles to business.

For a time the textile industry experienced a dramatic growth. Linen and woolen output increased moderately, silk production grew impressively, cotton textiles expanded sharply. Yet the over-all project was a disappointment, despite imaginative and persistent efforts. Only in Catalonia and Valencia, the least favored regions in this and other programs, were permanent successes achieved. The crown placed too much emphasis on creating an elaborate plant for the textile industry while misjudging marketing problems. It concentrated on producing fine cloth rather than common fabrics, for which there was a heavy domestic demand. Most of its effort went into Castile and León, where geographical and transportation difficulties militated against industry. Imported artisans suffered many frustrations and did not have the expected impact on Spanish technology. Antique methods in financing, management, and controls were bars to success, and foreign competition was too strong. Even when alien goods were prohibited, the Spanish tradition of smuggling defeated the wishes of the government. And reform of the guilds and system of taxation came too slowly to permit a wholesome growth of Spanish production.

This work reflects a considerable amount of research, much of it in Spanish archives. While it contains little that is startlingly new, it is replete with useful data and solid information. Competently as the author, an economist, divides his study into topics with convenient introductions and conclusions, it is somewhat repetitious and disjointed for a historian's taste. His frequent use of the word "kings" suggests a more personal involvement on the part of the monarchs in details of economic policy than was the case. In all, however, this is a worthwhile and welcome account of a significant aspect of Spanish history.

New York University

JOHN E. FAGG

THE SPANISH REPUBLIC AND THE CIVIL WAR, 1931-1939. By *Gabriel Jackson*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 578. \$12.50.)

Six histories of the Spanish Civil War were published between 1961 and 1963, the best of them being the work by Hugh Thomas. Gabriel Jackson has now provided the first scholarly study of the Second Republic and the Civil War together, achieving a perspective superior to that of any of the preceding books. He has read most of the published literature, has studied with care the Spanish press of that era, and has carried out numerous interviews with surviving personalities of the period. While Jackson has a definite pro-Republican point of view, his opinions are carefully reasoned and based upon perceptive evaluation of the evidence. The chapters on the years 1931-1933 are especially useful, highlighting economic problems and the creative efforts of the new regime. Treatment of the breakdown of Republican politics in 1933-1934 and of the shifts in Socialist policy from 1933 to 1936 provides new information and utilizes old data to better advantage than previous writers have done. One of the later chapters, "Efforts to Limit Suffering and Destruction," has little parallel in the recent Civil War literature.

Perhaps the least successful chapter is the first, which makes a number of questionable assertions regarding nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Spanish

history. In the sections treating military affairs, Jackson rightly rejects Thomas' practice of relying mainly on the published general military histories, all of which are by Nationalists, and all biased. There are more careful battle studies, published by officers of the Historical Section of the Spanish general staff in *Ejército* and the *Revista de Historia Militar*, yet these are ignored by Jackson, as by Thomas before him. It is not surprising that in a general work of this nature a certain number of petty errors can be found, but these are not worth detailing.

Four appendixes conclude the book. The most important deal with election statistics and with casualty figures resulting from battle and executions. In both areas Jackson presents a useful analysis, though he emphasizes that his statistics can be no more than tentative approximations. Like Thomas, he drastically revises downward the total number of deaths previously attributed to the Civil War. The estimates of both approximate 600,000, but with different categories given diametrically opposite weight.

Authoritative study of the Spanish Republic is handicapped by the absence of reliable monographic work on most of the key political problems, such as leadership and policy of the Socialist party, the Catalan crisis of 1934, and the political dynamics of the CEDA. Accepting these limitations, Jackson has made creditable use of the existing materials. His book is, in general, more thoughtful, more carefully studied, and less given to anecdotes of dubious validity than was Thomas' account. It shows keener perception of the alternatives of the period and expresses the human meaning of the Spanish experience better than previous analyses. It is the best available one-volume study of Spanish affairs in the 1930's.

University of California, Los Angeles

STANLEY G. PAYNE

UNE VILLE DES LUMIÈRES: LA LISBONNE DE POMBAL. By *José-Augusto França*. [Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1965. Pp. 259.)

THIS work is divided into five sections. The first gives a sketch of the origins and development of Lisbon, followed by a detailed survey of the city as it was at the time of the great earthquake of November 1, 1755. This section includes a discussion of the city's chief architectural monuments and a consideration of the role of Filippo Terzi, the celebrated Italian architect and military engineer, whose design of the great Augustinian monastery of São Vicente de Fora was in some respects the prototype and model of numerous later buildings in Portugal and Brazil. The author also discusses the social and cultural setting of Lisbon during the reign of D. João V, and his role as a Maecenas and an arbiter of taste. The second section is devoted to a description of the earthquake and the immediate aftermath of this disaster, including estimates of the casualties and the extent of the material losses. The third section, which forms the principal part of the book, deals successively with the various projects submitted for the rebuilding of the city and the actual urbanization of the new town, with particular reference to the reconstruction of the "Baixa" (lower town) on a gridiron plan between the Praça do Comercio on the water front and the square known as the "Rossio"; the architectural and constructional techniques employed; the "Pombaline style" and the architects associated therewith; the equestrian statue of D. José I and the vicissitudes of its sculptor, Machado de Castro. The fourth section, "The Bourgeoisie

and Social Life after 1755," discusses the Pombaline reforms and how far they were implemented; changes in the class structure; and the situation of the arts (and of practitioners of the arts) in the second half of the eighteenth century. The fifth section, "Queluz and the Taste of the Court," compares and contrasts the rococo palace of Queluz with the severely utilitarian style of "Lisboa Pombalina." The book is provided with good illustrations, ground plans, and a critical bibliography. It lacks an index, an inexcusable fault in a scholarly work of this kind.

Not being an art historian, I am uncertain how far the author's account of the rebuilding of Lisbon adds anything new to what can be gleaned from the massively documented works of Freire de Oliveira, Pereira de Sousa, and Matos Sequeira, but it is certainly useful to have this information within the covers of one volume. França's analysis of eighteenth-century Portuguese society and his explanation for the failure of so many of Pombal's reforms seem both cogent and convincing. I have, therefore, no hesitation in recommending this book not only to art historians but to anyone interested in eighteenth-century Portugal and in that Jekyll-and-Hyde character, the Marquis of Pombal.

King's College

C. R. BOXER

ECONOMISCHE EN SOCIALE GESCHIEDENIS VAN DE LAGE LANDEN. By J. A. van Houtte. (Zeist: Uitgeversmaatschappij W. de Haan N. V. 1964. Pp. xv, 366. Glds. 32.50.)

THIS rich and closely packed study of the economic history of the Netherlands and Belgium derives from Van Houtte's work as chief editor of the standard twelve-volume *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* (1949-58). The material is arranged topically within chronological periods, with about a third of the book devoted to the last 175 years, and with a particularly useful account of financial institutions and problems given throughout. The "late medieval" period of "decline and recovery" is extended to the time of the revolt against Spain. After that, unavoidably, the account loses some of its cohesiveness, since the paths of the North and South diverged. An excellent bibliography is given (to which could now be added, for medieval economic history, W. Jappe Alberts and H. P. N. Hansen, *Welvaart in Wording* [1964]).

After an introductory section, the author touches on the Carolingian era (Frisian trade, connections with Scandinavia) and the Viking invasions. Then, with the restoration of relative political order, trade and towns developed rapidly. Serfdom swiftly declined. A good section on the heyday of Flanders leads into an excellent discussion of the long recession (about 1300-1475), with deflation and fierce competition for shrinking markets. The somewhat spotty "boom" that followed was marked by the rise of Antwerp and lesser ports such as Middelburg. The golden age of Amsterdam and the northern Netherlands is covered in fairly brief fashion, to allow space for the less familiar events of the 1700's: decline in the North and modest prosperity in the South. The early impact of the Industrial Revolution in Belgium is the main theme of the last section, and the closing pages bring us to the Common Market and contemporary problems.

The book is oriented toward economic history in the narrower sense. Dutch whaling off Greenland is covered, but not the relation between Protestantism and

capitalism. There is detail on mid-nineteenth-century banking; the rise of labor unions is given a brief paragraph. The impact of socialist leaders such as Domela Nieuwenhuis is not discussed, and, indeed, Marx himself is never mentioned. But such an orientation is necessarily imposed by the author to ensure adequate presentation of the voluminous material he does handle.

Van Houtte's excellent work should become the standard one-volume treatment of Dutch and Belgian economic history. The style is consistently lucid, and the book should be translated.

Calvin College

DIRK JELLEMA

LANGRAND-DUMONCEAU, PROMOTEUR D'UNE PUISSANCE FINANCIÈRE CATHOLIQUE. Volume IV, ANNÉES DIFFICILES. By *G. Jacquemyns*. [Centre d'Histoire Économique et Sociale.] (Brussels: Université Libre de Bruxelles, Institut de Sociologie. 1964. Pp. 398. 275 fr. B.)

WHEN the heavens open and the earth is flooded, the French peasant declares that the good God exaggerates. The American says of the extremist that for him too much is never enough. If Thomas Wolfe had been senior partner of Scribner's or if there had been no Maxwell Perkins, Wolfe's novels would have had to sell by the pound. Perhaps the old adage says it better: *le mal commence où la mesure cesse*, but that in Jacquemyns' case was sixteen hundred pages back in Volume I. At the start the author thought that four volumes would do it; now it appears that at least five will be needed. One cannot be sure that the departing guests will not keep the hosts on the doorstep another quarter hour while just one more incident is recounted.

English reviewers have protested vigorously the recent plague of gigantism in French doctoral dissertations. They have regretted the less affluent days between the two wars when one could not afford to dump the entire contents of his files onto the printed page. Jacquemyns had better models in his own country. Did not Pirenne cover the entire history of Belgium in seven volumes and Génicot convey most of the medieval spirit in one single book? Let us get back to the classical spirit where harmony and proportion still rule. Jacquemyns himself glimpsed the right road. The best part of this volume is appearing where it belongs: in a historical review (*Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*). One cannot too much admire the tireless energy and infinite patience of the author, yet some thought should be reserved for the patience of the reader.

University of Vermont

PAUL D. EVANS

A HISTORY OF FINLAND. By *John H. Wuorinen*. (New York: Columbia University Press for the American-Scandinavian Foundation. 1965. Pp. xv, 548. \$10.00.)

ALTHOUGH the appearance of this history of Finland by America's most venerable Finnish scholar has been awaited expectantly, it contains no surprises for those familiar with Professor Wuorinen's other writings. Generally judicious and clearly written, it is distinguished by an inclusion of economic history and by an appraisal, in contrast to Eino Jutikkala's contemporaneous effort, of post-1945 events. Wuorinen accepts none of the hypotheses concerning the origins of this people

with their strange Finno-Ugric language. Dismissing Tacitus and M. A. Castrén as unreliable, he concludes that the roots of the early Finns "are likely to remain forever hidden." The Middle Ages, also sparsely documented, are cautiously and briefly treated. It is the birth of Finnish nationalism, the gaining of independence, and the durability of the republic to which most of the volume is devoted. A select bibliography, helpful tables on recent elections and economic trends, and a documentary appendix are also included.

A knowledgeable and careful scholar, Wuorinen affords few occasions for dissent. Justifiably enthusiastic about Finnish democracy, he sometimes overstates its case. In describing the 1918 civil war as a "Red revolt precipitated by a handful of extremists serving an alien cause," he treats lightly the considerable revolutionary unrest among war-weary workers and socialist mistrust of the Svinhufvud government. And surely the fascist overtones of the Lapuan movement were more than the invention of Communist propagandists. On Finno-Soviet relations the author asserts that Kremlin policy has been "to create a Sovietized world order by whatever means necessary." Accordingly, as in *Finland and World War II*, the anonymous defense of Finnish policy edited and translated by Wuorinen in 1948, he rejects Soviet fears of possible Finnish collaboration with Nazi Germany as a significant motive in the 1939 invasion. To aver that the last was "without the slightest provocation or justification" is to render an exclusively moral judgment and to ignore the amoral, conventional power considerations that Leonard Lundin and others see as a noteworthy influence. Finally, if Soviet policy conforms to Wuorinen's gloomy description, then the Paasikivi line, as he maintains, rests on unrealistic assumptions, but he happily acknowledges that "there is no doubt that the 'Paasikivi-Kekkonen Line' has been strikingly successful."

An Ostrobothnian by birth, the author early came to America and has long been an authority on Finnish nationalism in both the United States and Suomi. His distinctions include an honorary doctorate from the University of Helsinki.

Pennsylvania State University

KENT FORSTER

PAULUS HELIE OG CHRISTIERN II: KARMELITERKOLLEGIETS
OPPLØSNING. By *Kristen Valkner*. [Institutt for Kirkehistorie, Universitetet
i Oslo, Publication Number 2. Scandinavian University Books.] ([Oslo:]
Universitetsforlaget. 1963. Pp. 141. N. kr. 14.80.)

THE decades immediately prior to the official introduction of the Reformation in Denmark were indeed turbulent ones, in both political and religious matters. Those same years also saw the wane of the Union of Kalmar, the attempts of Danish King Christian II to retain his hold on Sweden, and the infamous Stockholm blood bath of 1520. The ideas originating in Wittenberg were the causes, direct or indirect, of other fierce struggles fought at first within the Church organization and the University of Copenhagen but in time also on the battlefield. A major figure in this period of transition was the humanist theologian Paulus Helie, or Povl Helgesen, who was a friend of King Christian until 1522, but later had to flee his wrath. Aware of the need for reform within the Church, Helie had translated Erasmus' *De institutione principis christiani* and had lectured on reformist ideas, many of which he seemed to favor. But, when faced with the possibility of a schism within the Church, Helie remained loyal to Rome and be-

came an unyielding antagonist of Lutheranism, thereby earning the epithet "The Turncoat." Helie's break with the King was also a major cause of the dissolution of the Carmelite collegium, of which he had been the provincial.

Basing his findings and conclusions concerning this important aspect of the Reformation in Scandinavia on all the available sources and a number of secondary works, the author presents new viewpoints and interpretations of the motives of some of Helie's actions. Other developments of the period are also brought into focus, such as Frans Vormorsen's activities in Malmö and the circumstances surrounding Helie's writing of the so-called "Skiby Chronicle."

A fine piece of scholarship, this book will be of considerable interest to those specializing in Scandinavian church history or in the early history of the Reformation.

American-Scandinavian Foundation

ERIK J. FRIIS

LIBERAL SOCIALPOLITIK, 1853-1884: TVÅ STUDIER. By *Håkan Berggren* and *Göran B. Nilsson*. [Scandinavian University Books, Studia Historica Upsaliensia, Number 17.] ([Stockholm:] Svenska Bokförlaget/Norstedts. 1965. Pp. v, 267. S. kr. 38.)

THESE two segments of solid Swedish scholarship are drawn from dissertations, but they fit together to add new detail to the picture of nineteenth-century social politics in Scandinavia.

Göran Nilsson's contribution concerns Swedish legislation on poor relief, 1853-1871. His primary concern is with the legislative process, rather than with the legislation itself. He traces individual complaints which he has examined for sample years, then follows the discussion through committee investigation and report, Riksdag debate, and final resolution. The method involves repetition and some confusion, but eventually the main issues appear as extent of coverage, burdens on the responsible communities, and demand for labor in return for assistance. Fundamental differences arose regarding the proper relationship of state control and local administration, and also concerning the *right* to aid versus humanitarianism. Among his revisions of previous interpretations, the author finds that it was not increased farmer influence in the Riksdag that led to the investigation of 1869 but rather the crop failures of 1867 and 1868 that overburdened the relief structure. He presents evidence of frank Swedish copying from earlier Norwegian legislation. Yet the law of 1871 only slightly reduced the community's responsibility, eliminated any mention of right, and increased the responsibility of relatives.

Håkan Berggren's briefer but significant essay on S. A. Hedin is biographically oriented. Like his colleague, Berggren is a revisionist; for example, he debunks the accepted idea that Hedin drew his inspiration from Bismarck. The Swede's ideas on social insurance seemingly came from revolutionary France rather than from Germany. Berggren proves that Hedin's old age and accident insurance proposal of 1884 was but one of a large package of projects through which he would better the lot of the working classes. He attacked the inhumanity of the law against vagrants, pioneered the demand for legal aid for the poor, demanded better education and social conditions as a preventive of crime, and sought improvement of conditions for women. Injustices of the indirect taxes disturbed him deeply. Like his contemporaries Ernst Beckman and Isidor Kjellberg, he was worried

about emigration, but felt that to stop it "an America must be created in Sweden." He was an advocate of the common man, nationalistic and democratic in a constructive sense. The author builds a strong case.

English summaries do well in giving the essence of the material, and they are better written than is usual.

Northwestern University

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT

FINLAND IN CRISIS, 1940-1941: A STUDY IN SMALL-POWER POLITICS. By *Anthony F. Upton*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1965. Pp. 318. \$7.50.)

THIS is the first objective scholarly study to appear in any major language of how Finland in June 1941 became a cobelligerent of Germany against the Soviet Union. Well balanced, lucidly written, and factually reliable, the book is so competently done that one wonders what Mr. Upton could have achieved had he added the microfilmed German documents relevant to the period to his sources. His only unpublished source is the transcript of the 1945-1946 "war-guilt" trials in Helsinki, which he has used with admirable skill. The German documents would have enabled him to eliminate a number of minor but irritating errors and to revise thoroughly his treatment of the evolving Finnish-German military relations, now the only really weak part of the book.

Upton's emphasis is on the forces that molded Finnish public opinion during these months, the nature of the decision-making process on the highest level, and the personalities and outlook of the few men who formed the "inner circle" of power. He is at his best when he analyzes "the mental and emotional background against which the Finns faced the consequences of the Treaty of Moscow." Most Finns could not comprehend that they had lost the Winter War and could not regard the peace settlement as a permanent one. There was an almost unanimous belief that the patently unjust Treaty of Moscow would one day be undone. These sentiments were fortified by the ingrained Fennocentrism which sprang from the old romantic notion that it was Finland's manifest destiny to guard an outpost of Christian civilization against Asiatic barbarism. The Soviet leaders, by their capricious policy after the peace treaty, again and again confirmed the Finns in these beliefs. The postwar cult of national unity, regarded as essential for national survival, served the same end.

The spectacular German victories in the spring and summer of 1940 convinced the Finns that only a friendly Germany could save them from the fate of the three Baltic States. Upton describes the rise of this conviction and the development of closer Finnish-German relations after August 1940 very well. He also makes the point that Finland's dependence on Germany became practically complete after the Russians vetoed a projected Finnish-Swedish union in late 1940.

In view of that, some of Upton's subsequent statements become incomprehensible. He suggests that the Finns had three opportunities to free themselves of Germany in the spring of 1941: they should have responded to the Soviet friendship overtures after the German conquest of Yugoslavia and Greece; they should have responded to the renewed Swedish initiative on the union question that spring; and they should have adopted a policy of Swedish-type neutrality in June 1941. These were "lost opportunities" and an "appalling mistake," but he provides no

reasonable argument in support of that judgment. Indeed, his whole book is one strong argument against such a conclusion. If, as he demonstrates, it was practically impossible for Finland not to have become embroiled with Germany in the first place, the facts logically indicate that disentanglement was impossible on the very eve of the German attack on the Soviet Union. Upton can offer no other argument in support of his conclusion than Germany's eventual defeat in the war. In other words, because Germany lost the war, Finland made a mistake in 1941. But what would have happened had Finland tried to resist Germany in 1941? Did the Finns really have a free choice, considering what had happened to Yugoslavia? It would seem that the only choice left to Finland was to be destroyed by Germany in 1941 or by the Soviet Union later should the Russians, against all expectations, win the war.

University of Wisconsin

H. PETER KROSBY

THE GERMAN MILITARY ENTERPRISER AND HIS WORK FORCE: A STUDY IN EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY. Volume I. By *Fritz Redlich*. [Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte, Number 47.] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH. 1964. Pp. xv, 532.)

THIS detailed and profusely documented monograph traces the evolution of mercenary troops in Germany during the period 1450-1650. The author finds the first European mercenaries used in Sicily and England during the thirteenth century; the decay of the feudal system made forced medieval levies obsolete. Already by 1400, mercenary knights in Germany undertook to contract for detachments of cavalymen and foot soldiers, either on their own account or on commission from feudal vassals or princes in their capacities as warlords. By the fifteenth century the *Rottmeister* (troop master) and *Hauptmann* functioned as military contractors. The rise of the lansquenets in late fifteenth-century Switzerland as a tactical force made up of mercenary foot soldiers led to a rapid expansion of military contracting throughout Central Europe. The author stresses the changes that the system of military contracting underwent under the strains of the Thirty Years' War. The armies were enormously expanded, the enterprisers contracted for detachments larger than before, the business became more lucrative, and the system of war financing was modified, notably by Wallenstein, who made the communities in which the troops were stationed responsible for their maintenance. Professor Redlich embellishes his account with extensive biographical and statistical data. Thus he describes the vast fortunes made by outstanding military leaders such as Schertlin von Burtenbach, Frundsberg, Boyneburg, Wallenstein, Sporck, and Tilly; the risks of their profession; the noble origin of most commanders; the wretched and brutish life of the soldier; the loot, ransom, fraud, and treachery inherent in the warrior's profession; the idealism, materialism, and the spirit of adventure that motivated the soldier and officer; and the prospects of social preferment and economic success that kept the system alive. Notwithstanding their wretched lot, mercenary soldiers were made abundantly available by the devastation of the prolonged wars that entailed widespread unemployment and by the trend toward the fragmentation of feudal holdings.

The author made extensive use of contemporary material in the form of recol-

lections, monographs, biographies, and autobiographies, much of it found in published archival collections. He relied chiefly on specialized scholarly works on fifteenth-, sixteenth-, and seventeenth-century warriors and the art of war, notably those by Grimmelshausen, Ritter, Heilmann, Wrede, Droysen, Reissner, and Zwiedenek-Südenhorst, among others. The work abounds in rich and varied detail on the functioning of the mercenary system and in biographical data. Beyond this the author adds little to our grasp of hired military personnel and formations and their role in early modern European warfare. His almost antiquarian interest in the identity, status, hazards, rewards, and way of life of the military enterpriser prevents him from bringing this material to a clear focus on the role of the mercenary system in contemporary power politics and from illuminating adequately the transition from the feudal levies to the hired soldiery of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries and the standing armies of the eighteenth century.

Pennsylvania State University

ALFRED G. PUNDT

DIE ANFÄNGE DER KONSTANZER REFORMATIONSPROZESSE, ÖSTERREICH, EIDGENOSSENSCHAFT UND SCHMALKALDISCHER BUND, 1510/22-1531. By *Hermann Buck*. [Schriften zur Kirchen- und Rechtsgeschichte, Darstellungen und Quellen, Numbers 29-31.] (Tübingen: Osiandersche Buchhandlung. 1964. Pp. 585. Cloth DM 44.40, paper DM 42.00.)

DIE ENTSTEHUNG DES SCHMALKALDISCHEN BUNDES UND SEINER VERFASSUNG, 1524/29-1531/35: BRÜCK, PHILIPP VON HESSEN UND JAKOB STURM. DARSTELLUNG UND QUELLEN MIT EINER BRÜCK-BIBLIOGRAPHIE. By *Ekkehart Fabian*. [Schriften zur Kirchen- und Rechtsgeschichte, Darstellung und Quellen, Number 1.] (2d rev. ed.; Tübingen: Osiandersche Buchhandlung. 1962. Pp. 428. Cloth DM 44.40, paper DM 42.00.)

THE series in which these two volumes have appeared carries a misleadingly impressive title. Twenty-six of the thirty-one numbers it has published or announced through 1964 have dealt with the Reformation in Germany. And nineteen of these were at least partly written by the general editor, Ekkehart Fabian. Günther Franz has remarked on the uniqueness of this collection, launched by a young man who promptly issued his recently completed doctoral dissertation as the first volume. Franz has also emphasized the contrast between the broad title of the series and the narrow coverage of its publications. The volumes are so preponderantly a vehicle for Dr. Fabian and so exclusively concerned with events in the Empire between the Peasants' War and the Peace of Augsburg that little more is being accomplished than exhaustive documentation of the era of the Schmalkaldic League. While this is a worthy enterprise, it hardly deserves such quantities of detailed narrative history, so many stolid tomes, and virtually all of a supposedly wide-ranging series of monographs.

Dr. Buck's massive study, replete with nearly three thousand weighty footnotes, narrates the squabbles occasioned by the Reformation in Constance. Many matters of wider interest are covered: the complementary reform activities of guildsmen and patriarchs; the city's ability to maintain ties with both Zwinglian-

ism and Lutheranism; the noticeable absence of the social upheaval and iconoclasm often associated with municipal reform movements; and the remarkably idealistic, almost radical attempt to recall St. Paul's teachings on justification in the religious ordinances of 1531. But these topics are buried in a mass of detail about Constance's relations with its neighbors and the day-to-day negotiations over Church property. Severe pruning would have saved the book from being an almost unreadable investigation of a tiny chapter of history; and without sacrificing the authority of his treatment, the author might also have had room to complete the story to 1548, when Constance was annexed by Austria.

Fabian writes much more clearly and deals with a more important subject. This is a second, much enlarged edition of the work that launched the series, and it remains the standard account of two significant events: the creation of the Schmalkaldic League (1531), and the protracted negotiations leading to the establishment of its first constitution in 1535. Both episodes are thoroughly described and set into the legal context of the federations of the period, notably the Swabian League. Gregor Brück, the influential Saxon Chancellor who was the voice of moderation, and the more aggressive Philip of Hesse are Fabian's chief protagonists, though the policies of Strasbourg, Ulm, and Nuremberg are also followed at length. Fabian has considerable narrative skill, and one section is a fine analysis of the aims of the leading adherents of the league. Although he is too tolerant of redundancies and of unnecessary details, his book can certainly be recommended with little hesitation (unlike Buck's) to students interested in the early attempts of Protestants to organize themselves. Yet it might be noted that Fabian is frequently curt and petty when discussing the work of other scholars. The petulant outburst against Walther Fuchs over the indeterminable date of the founding of the Schmalkaldic League, or the attack on scholars who fail to use the qualification "the so-called Peasants' War" (since nonpeasants also fought the princes) are tedious exercises in pointless indignation.

Both books are well produced and indexed, with useful documentary appendices and excellent bibliographies, though both would have benefited from the addition of a map. One can only regret that so much energy and meticulous scholarship should be directed toward studies that so rarely rise above their sources and an entire series that can be of interest only to the most specialized of specialists.

Harvard University

THEODORE K. RABB

LUTHERAN REFORMERS AGAINST ANABAPTISTS: LUTHER, MELANCHTHON AND MENIUS AND THE ANABAPTISTS OF CENTRAL GERMANY. By *John S. Oyer*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1964. Pp. 269. Glds. 27.)

AGAINST the backdrop of the lively current scholarly preoccupation with the life and thought of sixteenth-century Protestant radicalism, this study seeks to examine the attitude of the Lutheran reformers toward Anabaptism. Actually, its scope is at once broader and more restricted than the title indicates. The book sketches, somewhat unexpectedly, both the emergence of Protestant radicalism during the eventful years 1524 and 1525 and also the history of the Anabaptist movement in central Germany. On the other hand, only three Lutheran

reformers—Luther, Melancthon, and Menius—are examined, the most significant ones, to be sure, but by no means all of the Lutheran divines who battled with the Anabaptists.

The strength of the study lies in its competent discussion of Anabaptism in central Germany. The peculiar character of this branch of the Anabaptist movement, in comparison with south German Anabaptism, is duly noted, though one might have wished for a more extensive utilization of Zschäbitz' stimulating study on the relationship between the Peasants' War and Anabaptism.

Oyer's exposition of the views of Luther, Menius, and Melancthon confines itself to an analysis of the reformers' specifically anti-Anabaptist tracts. Accordingly, the conclusions are not so persuasive as one might wish. A full consideration of the underlying theological presuppositions of the reformers' anti-Anabaptist statements, as, for example, Luther's doctrine of baptism or Melancthon's soteriological views, might have yielded some valuable insights. One suspects that a definitive examination of the reformers' attitude toward Anabaptism would need to be based upon a comprehensive assessment of their theology. Oyer's conclusion that the theological issues dividing the Lutherans and the Anabaptists were soteriology, spiritualism, and the office of the ministry will be found distinctly helpful by Reformation specialists.

Unfortunately, several years lapsed between the completion of this study, originally a Chicago doctoral dissertation, and its publication. Thus the bibliography, while extensive, is not up to date.

Duke University

HANS J. HILLERBRAND

THE GERMAN OFFICER-CORPS IN SOCIETY AND STATE, 1650-1945.

By Karl Demeter. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1965. Pp. xiv, 414. \$10.00.)

If there is truth to the generalization that in Prussia the army was the state and vice versa, a historical study of the Prussian officer corps should prove to be enlightening regarding the nature of the Prussian state as well as of its army. Moreover, in view of contemporary efforts in Germany and in the non-German world of scholarship to come to grips with the "German problem" as presented by the Nazi terror regime, a new book on the German officer corps is bound to meet with intense interest.

This book is not new; rather, it is Dr. Demeter's pioneering study, *Das deutsche Offizierskorps in seinen historisch-soziologischen Grundlagen* (1930), brought up to date. The revised German edition of which the present book is a translation was published under the title *Das deutsche Offizierskorps in Gesellschaft und Staat 1650-1945* (1962). It is significant and testifies to the soundness of Demeter's scholarship that the 1930 text which covered the subject to the First World War has been retained practically word for word; the period 1919-1945 is treated in supplementary pages added to each of the main sections of the work. The statistical data which are a significant feature of the original work were rounded out with materials from studies on the German Army of the Weimar and Nazi periods by F. Woertz, W. Sauer, and others.

The work analyzes the officer corps under five main aspects: social origins; education and training; the concept and defense of honor; attitude to the state; and

attitude to society, particularly regarding the churches, Jews, civilians, manners, and morals. Demeter exploited the rich files of the Prussian *Militärkabinett* and those of the War Ministries of the Prussian, Bavarian, and Württemberg governments. He not only has a thorough technical command of his materials, but also possesses the wider interests of the historian of politics and society. He writes with remarkable detachment and objectivity and presents a fair, balanced, and lucid picture of an exceedingly complex development.

The tragic dilemma of the German officer in modern times was his growing estrangement from the political authorities he served and from the dynamic political and social forces that encroached on his way of life. Although nobles were greatly outnumbered by bourgeois in the officer corps by the end of the nineteenth century, the German officer continued to live in a semifeudal world in which he recognized only his ruler and his own social caste. After the advent of the Weimar Republic he continued to be monarchist at heart, although he was supposed to be "above politics." But with the coming of the Nazi regime these notions were blurred so that admiration for a strong leader could easily be grafted on to an antirepublican disposition. Demeter does not exonerate the German officer from responsibility for the crimes committed by the Nazi political authorities or for crimes committed under the cloak of the German Army's authority. With relentless logic he ascertains the moral failure of the army's leadership in the various political crises of the Third Reich.

While the scholarly merits of the work recommend it to the profession as well as to the general reader, the same cannot be said for this English translation. Not only is it marred by misspellings and factual errors, but it takes impermissible liberties with the author's text, depriving it of details, nuances, and precision. The most disconcerting fault, however, is the arbitrary omission of whole paragraphs and even pages of text without any indication whatever by either publisher or translator. Scholars will therefore want to turn to the German edition of 1962 for full and precise treatment of the subject.

American University

CARL G. ANTHON

DER PRIMAT DER INNENPOLITIK: GESAMMELTE AUFSÄTZE ZUR PREUSSISCH-DEUTSCHEN SOZIALGESCHICHTE IM 19. UND 20. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Eckart Kehr*. Edited with an introduction by *Hans-Ulrich Wehler*. With a foreword by *Hans Herzfeld*. [Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin beim Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin, Number 19.] (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1965. Pp. vi, 292. DM 28.)

PUBLICATION of the collected articles of a scholar who died in 1933 short of his thirty-first birthday might at first glance seem to be only an act of piety by devoted friends. For one so young Eckart Kehr managed to write much, but besides his impressive study of naval armament and party politics in the 1890's, there are only about a dozen essays dealing with various aspects of German history during the last two hundred years. Yet a reading of these pieces reveals that they still compel interest, not so much for what they say as for what they try to say. Kehr broke completely with the accepted tradition of scholarship in Germany, scorning that genteel noncommittal which had become an academic propriety in his country as

well as in others. For him history, especially social history, was an instrument for the understanding of the present and the charting of the future. He had no patience with research that sought to analyze political behavior apart from the conflict of interests and classes. He even condemned as escapist the kind of history of ideas that his own mentor, Friedrich Meinecke, the demigod of that generation, had written.

There is something refreshing about the irreverence with which the young scholar, still in his twenties, dismisses the idols of the academy as too precious and too effete to come to grips with the crucial issues of the world in which men live. But this book offers more than the spectacle of a youthful historian thumbing his nose at the elders of his profession. Kehr is trying to illuminate the past by a methodology derived partly from Max Weber, partly from Karl Marx. Convinced that economic interest and class struggle are the key to an understanding of society, he attempts to apply it to the basic questions of both foreign and domestic policy in Germany. His analysis is always original, always provocative, and often persuasive. He is at his best in dealing with the subject about which he knows most, the social and military developments of the Wilhelmian era. His contention is that the decisive factor in determining these developments was the alliance between the rural aristocracy and the industrial bourgeoisie directed against an urban proletariat increasingly radical in outlook. It was this unholy alliance that dominated the government of Germany in the prewar years and that must therefore bear the blame for the tragedy of a world conflict. Kehr may be rigid and dogmatic in his reasoning, but he is never pedestrian. Even when his evidence is scant, and it is scant quite frequently, he almost persuades the reader by the plausibility of his logic that the evidence must exist or at least that it should exist.

The ultimate justification of this book lies not in its specific analysis of modern history but in its appeal for a bold new scholarship that can comprehend the underlying forces of society and help us understand the time in which we live.

University of Wisconsin

THEODORE S. HAMEROW

THEODOR VON SCHÖN UND DIE GESTALTUNG DER SCHULE IN WESTPREUSSEN. By *Erich Hoffmann*. [Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Geschichte und Landeskunde Ost-Mitteleuropas, Number 71.] (Marburg (Lahn): [J. G. Herder-Institut.] 1965. Pp. 157. DM 12.)

MR. Hoffmann's choice of title is somewhat misleading, since his book is not primarily a study either of Schön or of education, but rather of the way in which educational policies reflected the conflict between Poles and Germans in West Prussia.

Hoffmann's thesis is that Schön, as *Oberpräsident* of West Prussia from 1816 to 1842, tried to convert the Poles into loyal subjects of Prussia, not so much by Germanizing them as by reducing their preoccupation with nationality; for Schön, as later for Bismarck, the state took precedence over the nation. In line with this aim Schön attempted to limit denominational control of education, which he thought sharpened national antagonisms, and to create a system of elementary schools attended by children of differing nationalities and religions. Schön's hopes remained largely unrealized, owing to opposition from high bureaucratic circles

in Berlin and to the hostility of the Catholic Polish clergy in his province; Hoffmann judges that a great opportunity for reconciliation between Poles and Germans was thus lost. Certainly there is much to be said for such an interpretation. Hoffmann, however, argues it somewhat uncritically, assuming throughout the self-evident correctness of Schön's policies and tending to attribute any opposition to Schön either to Polish fanaticism and ill will or to the influence of pro-Catholic, poorly informed, reactionary officials in the central government. Hoffmann's position may well be correct, but, if so, its truth is not convincingly demonstrated.

In other respects the book is competent and useful. The reader will learn a considerable amount about Schön's views on education and will get some picture, albeit a very sketchy one, of Schön as a person and statesman. He will also find an impressive amount of information about the extent and condition of the schools in West Prussia in the period of Schön's governorship. Within the limits of so short a study Hoffmann has little space for pedagogy proper, but he does deal briefly with the influence of Pestalozzi, and he tells something of the methods used in teacher training institutes. He has, moreover, made extensive use of archival material, effectively exploiting government statistics, and drawing heavily on official correspondence to illuminate the development of government policy.

Connecticut College

LENORE O'BOYLE

DIE NATION ALS SITTICHE IDEE: DER NATIONALSTAATSBEGRIFF IN GESCHICHTSSCHREIBUNG UND POLITISCHER GEDANKENWELT JOHANN GUSTAV DROYSSENS. By *Günter Birtsch*. [Kölner historische Abhandlungen, Number 10.] (Köln Graz: Böhlau Verlag, 1964. Pp. vi, 258. DM 28.)

WHAT historians achieve often differs remarkably from what they intend. Birtsch has designed a monograph that would serve as a cogent reinterpretation of Droysen's nationalism, but his actual contribution is at once something less and something more than this.

It is as an analysis of Droysen that the work falls short of its claims, for Birtsch simply remains less convincing than Felix Gilbert, whose masterly study of some thirty years ago set the pattern for more recent specialists and whom Birtsch purports to supersede. The presumptive issue is that of development versus continuity in Droysen's political thinking. Where Gilbert and others stress Droysen's shift from a more idealistic to a more realistic approach toward nationalism through the convulsive experience of 1848, Birtsch takes the *Historik* of 1857 as his initial and central source for demonstrating the continuous coexistence in Droysen of the antipodal elements heretofore joined by the concept of a development. Using the systematic dialectical union, in the *Historik*, of morals with power, norm with fact, freedom with obligation, Birtsch shows the presence of the realistic power motif in the pre-1848 Droysen and the presence of liberal moralism in the post-1848 Droysen. Having asserted the theoretical unity of opposites, the argument utilizes the second and third sections of the tripartite volume to show how Droysen's concrete approach to revolutionary and postrevolutionary politics as well as to the writing of history confirms the constancy of his bipolar attitude.

Two difficulties vitiate the discussion. In the first place, Birtsch's horse is largely straw. No scholar seriously denies a framework of continuity in Droysen, and Birtsch's running dispute with earlier authorities in the footnotes, however mannerly, seems somewhat scholastic when applied to a mere matter of emphasis. Secondly, the senior partner in Birtsch's version of Droysen's dialectic is the ethical syndrome, a position that sends Birtsch into verbal acrobatics for the several situations in which it does not fit and that involves him in the hollow formalism of accepting at face value Droysen's protestations of "morality" and "freedom" without examining the new meanings that the questionable associations of these values were bringing to them. Thus, when Droysen says that the moral will of the community is an important ingredient of power, Birtsch simply concludes that for Droysen power is encased in an ethical mold. What he does not ask is whether on these occasions moral will, freedom, and so forth have become a function of power.

But if Birtsch's achievement is moderate in respect to Droysen, it far transcends his design in respect to nationalism. The first section of his work, which treats the logical and psychological internal relations of Droysen's nationalism and draws upon philosophy, politics, and history for the purpose, is as revealing a case study of the intellectual role of nineteenth-century nationalism as I have seen. The rationality and penetration of Birtsch's analysis here not only illuminate the coherence but isolate the residue of arbitrariness in the doctrine and dramatize its ultimate contingency.

University of Chicago

LEONARD KRIEGER

FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION IN GERMANY 1868-1879. By *Ivo Nikolai Lambi*. [Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Number 44.] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH. 1963. Pp. xi, 267. DM 28.)

Dr. Lambi undertakes to re-examine on the basis of new material the profound change in German tariff policy that occurred between 1868 and 1879 and that resulted in a reversal of the earlier alignment of liberals with protection and of conservatives with free trade. He relies primarily on microfilm copies of *Reich* and Prussian records, on the archives of several other German governments, on papers of organized business interests, on contemporary publications of the transactions of public and private bodies, and on four representative newspapers. Having worked through this mass of material and related it to standard works on the problem, Lambi has produced an interesting and scholarly account of the interaction of business interests, public opinion, and government policies, as related to the tariff problem. Within this framework he makes an important and lasting contribution.

His conclusions deal almost exclusively with the economic and fiscal effects of the new tariff; one wishes he had expanded his observation that the 1879 tariff served "in emasculating the cause of liberalism in Germany" and that he had discussed its role in the consolidation of the modern German social structure. Similarly, the work would have been strengthened if Lambi had used more sources, such as the records of the *Reichskanzleramt* in Potsdam, which apparently were not available to him, but which he could have discussed in some way on the basis of Rathmann's 1956 article in the *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*.

Finally, it can only be regretted that matters outside the main analysis are treated lightly. His concept of metallurgical processes is so confused at times as to make his statistics unreliable. Similarly, his analysis of the effects of the 1879 tariff on German industrial development lacks economic methodology and is therefore unacceptable. The reader should also be cautioned against relying uncritically on the personal names, geographic terminology, and book titles provided in this work. These defects reflect to some extent the uncertain status economic history occupies as a discipline.

Library of Congress

ARNOLD H. PRICE

FRIEDRICH VON HOLSTEIN: POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY IN THE ERA OF BISMARCK AND WILHELM II. In two volumes. By *Norman Rich*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. xvii, 430; xv, 433-870. \$27.50 the set.)

For fifty years "Fritz von Holstein, Wirklicher Geheimer Rat," to quote the inscription on his tombstone, has been a controversial figure. He was accused of having been Bismarck's spy on Count Harry Arnim, the German ambassador in Paris from 1871 to 1873; he was said to have speculated on the stock market by using state secrets for his personal gain; and above all he was held responsible, as the real director of German policy from 1890 to 1906 (although his title was never higher than *Rat*), for the great mistakes of German diplomacy that led to the war of 1914, namely, the futile Moroccan policy from 1904 to 1906 and the failure to foresee that German policy would lead to the Triple Entente and the "encirclement" of Germany. He was often represented as a crusty old bachelor who refused to lead a normal social life. In this new biography, based primarily on the ninety-one volumes of Holstein Papers, although other well-known sources are also used, Norman Rich has to some extent rehabilitated this "grey eminence" who quite successfully avoided the limelight for so many years. The book also offers a study of German history, both internal and external, from the seventies to Holstein's fall in 1906.

Holstein entered the German Foreign Office as the protégé of Bismarck, but, like many others, fell out with the Iron Chancellor and even challenged Herbert Bismarck to a duel! On the Arnim affair, Holstein did urge Bismarck to transfer the ambassador first to Rome and then to Constantinople on the ground that Arnim's policy was contrary to German interests and to Bismarck's instructions, but Holstein was not a spy, and Bismarck knew of Arnim's conduct from other sources. As to the financial speculations, Rich is not convinced by the evidence, which may have been forged; at any rate, Holstein died a poor man.

In the last years of Bismarck's rule, Holstein was unable to understand Bismarck's policy as represented by the Austrian alliance and the Reinsurance Treaty, which he considered inconsistent, and he was largely responsible for its rejection by Caprivi and William II. Holstein was strongly for the Austrian alliance and at one time even supported the idea of a preventive war against Russia. After Bismarck's fall, Holstein worked for an English alliance, and it is clear from Rich's numerous quotes that he thought Britain would eventually have to pay Germany's price, which was adhesion to the Triple Alliance. To this extent the earlier criticism that Holstein misinterpreted the international situation was justified. But he

was strongly opposed to the naval ambitions of William II, which, he rightly saw, would prevent any lasting agreement with England; he also tried, by various means, to control the vagaries of the impulsive Emperor. Nor did he care very much about colonies, which were the rage in Germany from 1894 on, except as moves in a complicated diplomatic game. His motive regarding Morocco seems to have been a determination that France should not have that area without Germany's consent, for which Germany would have to be paid. Rich did not find evidence that Holstein deliberately tried to provoke war with France in 1905, but he was certainly prepared for it, only to have it vetoed by William.

Holstein was essentially an intriguer, one who worked behind the scenes, largely through letters to people he knew, and he knew everyone from the Chancellor to obscure officials. He quarreled with many people, including the Bismarcks and Philipp Eulenburg, the Emperor's most intimate adviser, who was later tried for homosexuality. In the latter case, Holstein got in touch with Maximilian Harden, the notorious Jewish journalist, who had already got wind of the matter.

Holstein was certainly not the ogre often pictured. He was self-effacing, highly patriotic, and well intentioned. He never married and, so far as Rich can discover, never had a mistress. Rich holds the balance well between Holstein's qualities and his defects, but, on the whole, Holstein was not an attractive personality, and it is easy to understand why, after his fall and in the 1920's, he was regarded critically. Rich is to be congratulated on having written a very interesting and authoritative volume which will not have to be done over. But why is the only photograph shown of Holstein one of 1877, before he acquired real power? One would like to know how he looked at the height of his power in 1900-1905.

University of Chicago

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

LEBENSERINNERUNGEN DES POLITIKERS UND STAATSMANNES, 1878-1949. By *Heinrich Köhler*. With the assistance of *Franz Zilken*. Edited by *Josef Becker*. With an introduction by *Max Miller*. [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg. Series A, Quellen. Number 11.] (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag. 1964. Pp. 412. DM 27.)

THE name of Heinrich Köhler is not likely to be identified readily even by specialists of twentieth-century Germany, but his autobiography is of considerable interest and value. His political career spanned a period from 1912 until his death in 1949, interrupted by several years of political inactivity during the Nazi era. He was a major figure in the Baden Center party and an expert in finance, holding the position of Finance Minister in Baden from 1920 to 1927, in Wilhelm Marx's national government (January 1927-June 1928), and also in Baden-Württemberg following the Second World War. In addition, he was Baden's *Staatspräsident* twice, a member of the Baden *Landtag* for many years, and a *Reichstag* deputy from May 1928 until July 1932, when internal feuds within the Center party terminated the Weimar phase of his career. He was introduced to politics in the *Windthorstbund*, an organization dedicated to fighting for Catholic interests; he developed his financial knowledge as a lesser official in the Baden tax bureau; but it was the Revolution of 1918 that gave him an opportunity to head a ministry. Un-

like most of the middle-class politicians who rose to prominence in the Weimar period, Köhler lacked a university education, which enabled him to claim that he was a man of the people. He was actually a member of the Center's Right Wing, strongly clerical and lukewarm toward the republic. The national figure in the Center whom he most admired was Wilhelm Marx; his *bête noire* was Josef Wirth, the leader of the party's Left Wing. He was also a foe of the leaders of the Christian Trade-Unions: Adam Stegerwald, Heinrich Imbush, and Heinrich Brüning.

His polemical portraits of his enemies within the party are of great interest, and his account of the time when these enmities ripened, the period in which he was *Reich* Finance Minister, is the most valuable portion of his memoir. The fourth cabinet of Marx symbolized a Rightist trend in Germany and within the Center party that seemed to indicate the abandonment of the republic and the worker. Wirth and the CTU had sought in vain to block the formation of the cabinet, and they violated party discipline to attack the government all during its existence. Köhler found himself in the middle of the Centrist split because of his determination to force through a salary increase for civil servants against the opposition of the trade-unions. Köhler was an emotional man, with several other stormy chapters in his career besides the 1927 crisis.

His temperament and his journalistic style of writing, honed in early service with Catholic newspapers, give his remembrances pungency and interest in contrast to many of the dreary apologies that Weimar politicians have published. And because he wrote his autobiography before 1945 and had no opportunity to retouch it later, he does not hide his early desire (following the September 1930 election) to make the National Socialists coalition partners of the Center, a step he found analogous to the Center party's willingness to combine with the Social Democrats in 1919. He does not obscure his disillusionment with the Weimar system nor his staunch German nationalism. Indeed, he believed one of his major achievements as Finance Minister under Marx was to establish concealed funds for the secret rearmament of Germany on a sound basis.

An appendix of fifty-six pages of documents illustrates his political career from 1945 until his death. The editor has furnished a forty-page introduction, excellent footnotes, and a fine index.

Colorado State University

BRUCE B. FRYE

DIE FRIEDENSPOLITIK DER MITTELMÄCHTE 1917/18. Volume I. By Wolfgang Steglich. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH. 1964. Pp. xv, 593.)

THIS first volume of a large study of German and Austro-Hungarian diplomacy in World War I covers the period from the first peace offer of the Central Powers of December 12, 1916, to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk of March 3, 1918.

During the first two years of the war both groups of belligerents hoped to win a clear-cut victory and refused to consider a negotiated peace. However, in December 1916, after the costly German offensive at Verdun and the British offensive on the Somme failed to break the stalemate on the western front, the Central Powers, on Austrian initiative, offered to negotiate peace. Although Germany and Austria had failed to gain a decisive victory, their armies were fighting nearly everywhere on enemy soil and controlled nearly all the territories that were likely

to be subject to negotiation, with the exception of German colonies. This gave the Central Powers an advantage and the Allies a corresponding disadvantage. Not surprisingly, therefore, the Allies rejected the suggestion to negotiate, and the Central Powers did not renew it until October 1918. Once the subject of peace was openly broached, however, peace moves emanating from American, Russian, and other quarters abounded: President Wilson's "peace without victory" address of January 1917, the Petrograd Soviet's peace manifesto of March, the *Reichstag* peace resolution of July, the Pope's peace appeal of August, the peace efforts of the socialist conference in Stockholm, Lenin's peace decree and Lansdowne's letter of November, the opening of the Brest-Litovsk peace conference in December, and Wilson's Fourteen Points address of January 1918. All along the Allies were secretly negotiating with Austria in an effort to induce that country to conclude a separate peace, which would leave Germany isolated.

Steglich carefully reviews the German and Austrian ideas on and part in these various peace moves. His attitude toward the subject is indicated in the preface of his book, in which he takes issue with Fischer's *Griff nach der Weltmacht* (1962) and contends that Germany did not have a *Kriegszielpolitik* (war aims policy), properly speaking, in World War I but rather a *Sicherungs politik* (security policy) and a *Friedens politik* (peace policy). Until December 1916, he affirms, the German leaders were motivated primarily by a search for security and after that time primarily by a search for peace, although elements of both policies figured in their thought and action throughout the war. This is not, however, an apologia for German policy. Steglich does not try to hide or explain away the facts that both the German security policy and peace policy, as he calls them, envisaged substantial territorial annexations. His attitude toward history is an amoral one. With principles, such as self-determination, he is simply not concerned. For him war and diplomacy are a hard-boiled game, in which the winner takes all. He does not probe the motivation of German and Austrian statesmen deeply and never passes moral judgment on it. What he does is to reconstruct the facts of German and Austrian policy dispassionately, with painstaking and scrupulous attention to detail and accuracy, on the basis of an unusually rich documentation drawn from German and Austrian archives and private papers of their leading statesmen, as well as on published documents, memoirs, and studies in Western languages.

This book constitutes an impressive contribution to the factual history of World War I diplomacy, but contributes little to the war's understanding.

Florida State University

VICTOR S. MAMATEY

ZUR DEUTSCHEN FRAGE, 1918-1923: DIE WIRTSCHAFTLICHEN UND INTERNATIONALEN FAKTOREN DER WIEDERBELEBUNG DES DEUTSCHEN IMPERIALISMUS UND MILITARISMUS. By L. Zsigmond. [Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Number 55.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1964. Pp. 345. \$8.40.)

IN his study of German expansionism, Zsigmond treats Germany in the years after World War I, when German imperialism temporarily had lost its weapons. He therefore forcibly concentrated on the presentation of its motor which had changed less than was often assumed. The author gives proof of the thorough study of a wide range of literature and source material, reflecting politics, sociol-

ogy, economics, and ethnological and cultural problems, which is required in most Soviet countries. Still, compared to earlier works of this type, his Marxism is toned down. The change is so great that much of what he says could have been published in Western countries, if Western historians had the all-embracing knowledge of such a scholar. With many social scientists behind the iron curtain thus starting to shed the eggshells of dogmatism, we are likely to face a new situation in which they might well gain the upper hand in the international race for scholastic supremacy in our field.

Zsigmond's study successfully investigates the contradictions of the first five years after World War I in which the beaten *Reich*, making necessity a virtue, used its very poverty and its low production costs for gaining the upper hand in Europe economically, and sometimes even politically. Bolstered by those old props of German imperialism, *Junkers* and heavy industry, the weak republic was induced to that premature challenge of victorious France—the Ruhr conflict. Zsigmond's brilliant presentation still is marred at some places by insufficient exposition of the policy of main actors such as Loucheur, Rathenau, and Briand, by overstressing the concept *Finanzkapital*, and by occasional use of dubious Communist literature such as the highly debatable study on Friedrich Naumann by Gertrud Theodor. For some unexplained reason he also fails to present Stinnes' "stab in the back" of the struggling German Republic: his nefarious attack upon the temporarily stabilized German currency in April 1923, which made Germany's capitulation in the Ruhr conflict inevitable.

Zsigmond's work should be read in conjunction with Friedrich Katz's fascinating and convincing picture of the basic contradiction affecting *Deutschland in Übersee* in his *Deutschland, Diaz und die Mexikanische Revolution* (see *AHR*, LXXI [Jan. 1966], 513).

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN

THE CRISIS OF GERMAN IDEOLOGY: INTELLECTUAL ORIGINS OF THE THIRD REICH. By *George L. Mosse*. (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1964. Pp. vi, 373. Cloth \$5.95, paper \$2.65.)

DEBATE on interesting and important questions about the origins of National Socialism as well as about the definition and typology of fascism in general has been going on since the appearance of books such as Hannah Arendt's on Eichmann and Ernst Nolte's on fascism. In joining this debate George Mosse takes us back to a vital undercurrent of the German mind, the "volkish" tradition, which has gained among the Germans a singular dynamic, mystical meaning and force. Since its inception in the era of romanticism it has become a rallying point for a German sense of identity and has allowed the Germans to see themselves as set apart from other peoples by special native powers. The "volkish" bond became, to those who recognized it, a mystical union, a new religion designed to help them overcome political disunity and the discontents of modern civilization. A strange swarm of cultists, cranks, and conspirators preached the advantages of earthiness as against modernity, urbanization, technology, rationalism, and, of course, the Jew, who was seen as the enemy. Mosse's point is that the various expressions of the "volkish" movement were not sectarian in character but that they represented the mainstream in the development of the German mind. "Volkish" ideas became

current in literature, Rightist politics, society, and in the latter decades of the nineteenth century they penetrated the establishment, namely schools and universities. They thus gained full respectability. In the crisis situation after 1918 it remained for Hitler only to translate the dynamism of the "volkish" movement into terms of political power. January 1933 was then, Mosse argues cautiously, while not a logical culmination of German history (*cave* Shirer), neither simply an "accident of history."

The evidence collected by Mosse on the intensity and proliferation of "volkish" culture in Germany is indeed shattering. In this respect *The Crisis of German Ideology* constitutes a major contribution to scholarship. The conclusions the author draws from this evidence, however, are on balance vastly exaggerated. Just because it is understandable and indeed inevitable that in these days German history should be written with the catastrophe in mind, it is up to the historian to exercise the necessary restraint. Mosse's picture of Wilhelminian Germany is distorted and forced into a "volkish" strait jacket. He would have made his point more convincingly had he emphasized the fact that much German sectarian life was, certainly by contrast to England, dominated by as ungenerous a tradition as the "volkish" one was. But while Mosse has exaggerated the force of this pernicious trend in Germany, he has consciously underplayed its importance in the German lands formerly belonging to the Habsburg monarchy. Now any book dealing with the "volkish" tradition, in contrast to the Bismarckian smaller German tradition, should by definition include Austria and Bohemia where this trend of thought, growing out of the general disorientation after 1866 and the defensive position against the Slavic world, became rampant. No book on the origins of National Socialism can afford to neglect southeast Germany; any such book should encompass the Germanies rather than merely Germany proper.

But what I take issue with mainly is the author's method. In the period immediately after the war we had an abundance of books of the "from-to" variety on the origins of National Socialism, tracing it back to a specific intellectual ancestry, whether Luther, romanticism, or Nietzsche. These have contributed little to our understanding of the complexity of the course of history, not to speak of intellectual history as a discipline. Mosse's book is in this respect, I am afraid, a throwback to this approach. The question that remains to be asked is why the "volkish" tradition had such a strong hold on the Germans. The answer certainly cannot lie in romanticism, as is suggested in Chapter 1. Romanticism, with its preference for the Middle Ages, for small town and countryside, with its fear of "dark satanic mills," was not confined to Germany and by itself did not lead to the *Volks mystique*. A study of that *mystique* should, moreover, relate this concept somehow to Herder who after all was the parent of the nineteenth-century Central and East European nationality movement. But Herder's *Volks* concept was clean and noble and was oriented toward (not away from) humanity and divinity. Indeed the mainstream of the comparable *narodnosť* concept which was a main element in Russian nationalism never fully lost this generous orientation. The question then is: when and why was the German *Volks* concept soiled? Namier has pointed his finger accusingly and with no little justification to 1848-1849. The turn of the century and finally the crisis situation of the 1920's were other stations in the progressive deterioration of the concept. But the point is that hard and fast political and social realities account for this deterioration. After all, the

whole development of modern Germany stands under the sign of what Helmuth Plessner has called the "belated nation." Religiously, Germany was left divided by the Reformation. Religion could therefore not become a focus for national aspirations. And it might well be argued that the religious factor accounts for the difference between the histories of the *narodnost'* concept, which remained associated with Russian Orthodoxy, and the *Volk* concept, which as a unifying force among the Germans set itself up as antichurch. It is not incidental that among the leading spirits of the "volkish" movement there should have been renegade Protestants as well as Catholics such as Gottfried Traub, Wilhelm Jatho, and Lanz von Liebenfels who opted for *Volk* above church. Mainly, of course, the peculiar tensions in the German world among the concepts of *Reich*, *Nation*, *Staat*, and *Volk* left each one unsatiated, restless, explosive beyond normal measure.

But even on the German intellectual and political Right distinctions must be made that I do not observe in this book. Moeller van den Bruck was hardly a "volkish" thinker, not even strictly speaking a nationalist. He was a Germanophile as much as he was a Slavophile. Moeller may have been wrongheaded, but he had a big heart as no "volkish" apostle did. Also debatable is Mosse's assessment of the German Nationalist Party (DNVP), "one of the most important transmitters of volkish thought," as having little differed from the NSDAP; had it gained power, the author argues, its policies would have been substantially the same as those of the Nazis. But it must be recalled that, for better or worse, the smaller German Bismarckian as well as the Pan-German tradition had not been drowned out by racist influences. In general, the author makes too little effort to make distinctions: smaller German and greater German traditions, "volkish" thought, anti-Semitism, the new postwar conservatism, and National Socialism are often equated. They must be distinguished from each other, even though they all eventually merged in the same revolutionary current. In any case, it is vital to bear in mind the eclectic nature of the National Socialist ideology.

Finally Mosse enters briefly into the interesting and important discussion concerning types of fascism. As is to be expected from his main argument, he concludes that German fascism was uniquely ideological in comparison with other, non-German, rather activist varieties. While there is some basis for this contrast, the overemphasis on the "primacy of ideology" in the German case ought not to go unchallenged. The historian should not underrate the role of the immediate crisis, political, economic, and social, that drove millions of Germans into the arms of National Socialism. Here indeed, rather than in the "German ideology," lies the unfortunate universal significance of National Socialism. And lastly, there was nothing "transcendental" about either the *Volk* concept or National Socialism. Both are, as Ernst Nolte has suggested, expressions of a suicidal trend in Western civilization turning against itself, turning against what is its outstanding legacy, namely "transcendence," the quest of man above and beyond himself.

Smith College

KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER

ANFÄNGE NATIONALSOZIALISTISCHER AUSSENPOLITIK. By Gün-
ter Schubert. (Cologne: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik. 1963. Pp. 251. DM
26.50.)

SCHUBERT's book is a series of loosely connected essays on the attitudes of selected

National Socialists regarding foreign policy and related matters, although much biographical material is included as is some discussion of the party's internal development.

Considered as an integrated work, the book is a disappointment. The author does not clearly distinguish between foreign policy and Hitler's dealings with foreigners and foreign nations. Material regarding these two topics is often presented indiscriminately. Further, and even more important, the book does not form a coordinated whole; there are wide gaps in the story it presents. Several of the chapters bear only peripherally on the subject to which the book is apparently dedicated, and others contain material that is irrelevant to Nazi foreign policy. The chapters are very uneven in both length and quality.

The chapters on Hitler's early foreign policy pronouncements are by far the best. They show, from his own words, his official position on German diplomacy. Further, the sources underlying his initial position are carefully examined, as are those new elements introduced into his world picture before the Kapp *Putsch* and during his imprisonment. The story is clearly told, the documentation is impressive, and the arguments are persuasive. The compulsive bases of Hitler's world view, the shrewd and realistic appraisals that characterized his approach to all questions, the blind acceptance of patently absurd assumptions, and his narrowness of vision emerge vividly, as does his tactical *expertise*.

The chapters on Alfred Rosenberg are far less satisfactory. Too much irrelevant material is included, and the crucial years 1924-1932 are almost completely ignored. The real extent and significance of Rosenberg's influence upon Hitler remain hazy, while the author's emphasis on the erratic Balt's ineptness as a practical politician suggests doubts as to whether he deserves such extended treatment. Karl Luedecke, who shares honors with Rosenberg in two chapters, is hard to accept as a really significant factor in the total picture of the development of Nazi foreign policy, although his activities as Hitler's early Harry Hopkins could not be entirely neglected in any general discussion of Hitler's first attempts at personal diplomacy. Despite the possibility that he may first have turned Hitler's attention seriously to the idea of approaching Mussolini for aid, his primary significance is as a courier rather than as a policy maker.

Döhmel, the chief protagonist of the chapter on the plans for the Budapest *Putsch*, remains at best a shadowy figure whose connection with Hitler is problematical. He certainly seems to have had nothing to do with policy formulation. Indeed, this chapter is the weakest in the book in terms of documentation and credibility. The chapter on the Nazi view of Weimar diplomacy is largely a reiteration of observations made in the first two chapters and should properly have been consolidated with them. Chapter VI, with its discussion of foreign sources of Nazi revenue, is at most peripheral to the main theme and would have been better presented elsewhere as an article.

Several minor criticisms remain. Schubert sometimes introduces persons, events, or organizations without proper initial identification. Least significant but annoying is the publisher's failure to glue the book together effectively.

Having indicated the serious weaknesses of this work, it is only proper to underscore the fact that some of the chapters are very valuable as independent or semi-independent articles.

University of Massachusetts

HAROLD J. GORDON, JR.

GOEBBELS AND NATIONAL SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA, 1925-1945. By Ernest K. Bramsted. ([East Lansing:] Michigan State University Press. 1965. Pp. xxxvii, 488. \$12.50.)

"ANOTHER book about Joseph Goebbels and his Ministry of Propaganda?" one asks apprehensively. No other National Socialist figure, except Hitler, has been the object of so much scholarly and unscholarly attention. One can count seven substantial biographies and studies devoted to Hitler's Propaganda Minister. Bramsted's book is substantially the best and fullest and should remain the standard work for years to come. The author does not offer us a rounded biography, but in his own words "has endeavored to throw new light on the development of the themes and the machinery of National Socialist propaganda, to analyze characteristic attitudes and methods employed by Goebbels and his subordinates in the changing circumstances of two decades and to examine the objectives and targets of their propaganda, sometimes publicly stated but often deliberately camouflaged." Bramsted has admirably realized his goals.

The organization is chronological over the twenty years covered by the study, but within the five parts, divided into nineteen chapters, the treatment is topical. An introductory section deals with the residues of Northcliffe's propaganda from World War I. Following the introduction, Part One covers Goebbels' development as an agitator and propagandist in "The Battle for Berlin"; Part Two describes the organization and functions of the Propaganda Ministry and its work of domestic "enlightenment" from 1933 to 1939; Part Three treats Goebbels' propagation of the Hitler myth; Part Four is devoted to "Propaganda at War"; and Part Five presents miscellaneous themes, such as Goebbels' anti-Semitism, his distorted images of Britain, and his penchant for historical parallels, which were about all he had to appeal to during the last two years of the war. One of the brightest chapters—"The BBC Hits Back"—analyzes British counterpropaganda during World War II; and another concerns the "Strange Case of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*." (The author seems unaware that after 1936 the *Frankfurter Zeitung* was owned completely by the party newspaper trust.)

As to the sources used, the author has cast his net widely: Goebbels' diaries and speeches, published documentary collections, the memoirs and diaries of Goebbels' associates (Semmler, Von Oven, Werner Stephan), BBC monitoring reports, and the Brammer, Sanger, and Oberheitmann collections of press directives and records of the daily news conferences in the Propaganda Ministry.

Although Bramsted finds Goebbels and his deeds reprehensible in their every aspect, one receives the impression that the author considers him a master of propaganda techniques, agitation, and thought control. Recognizing that there is no way to measure objectively performance in this field, one can express doubts as to the complete effectiveness of Nazi propaganda. It is a fact that German newspaper circulation declined almost one million annually between 1933 and 1939. And Nazi foreign propaganda was often misdirected through ignorance or sheer illusion. In war, victory is the best propaganda; clever strategy and "stunts" do not compensate for defeats. Goebbels was a virtuoso and a self-advertising fellow, but when you multiply one hundred times zero, the result is still zero.

University of Virginia

ORON J. HALE

THE NAZI SEIZURE OF POWER: THE EXPERIENCE OF A SINGLE GERMAN TOWN, 1930-1935. By *William Sheridan Allen*. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1965. Pp. xi, 345. \$6.95.)

So far there has been a dearth of literature on the local history of the National Socialist revolution. Professor Allen of the University of Missouri is thus a kind of pioneer of the genre. Rudolf Heberle's earlier study of Schleswig-Holstein, *From Democracy to Nazism* (1945), and Ernst-August Roloff's recent *Bürgertum und Nationalsozialismus: Braunschweigs Weg ins Dritte Reich* (1960) are competent regional treatments, but they lack the specificity of Allen's work. While less analytic than Heberle's social and economic study, Allen's account is perceptive and imaginative. Taking off from the "anatomy of the town," the book searches through the highways and byways of "Thalburg," a *Kreisstadt* of ten thousand in the western foothills of the Harz Mountains, for manifestations of the Nazi presence. The book falls into two equal segments, the coming of the Nazis, 1930-1932, and the seizure of power, 1933-1934. It is obvious, not only from the detailed footnotes, with their careful use of local records, newspapers, and many interviews, but also from the ring of the narrative, that Allen has studied a real German community in the grip of a social revolution. The desire to preserve anonymity for the town and especially for his informants has led to an elaborate system of code names beginning with "Thalburg," but all of his data can be verified with the original names attached in his doctoral dissertation available on University Microfilms. In other words this is no abstract model of Nazism from political science theory, nor the suppositions and hypotheses of contemporary and foreign observers about Nazism to which so many educated Americans are accustomed. This is very good scientific history.

Still the book suffers from a certain parochial, not to say shallow, interpretation. "The problem of Nazism was primarily a problem of perception." Even granting the inevitability of reporting parochial perceptions when studying the experience of a single German town, I was disappointed in the over-all result. The quality of Allen's interpretation is excellent in a hundred vignettes of human pathos and wry irony, but he falls back on bland truisms in the place of wisdom to frame his chapters and his conclusions. He has provided much more insight into "how it all could happen" than his "tables, graphs and charts," suggestive as they are, or his documentation of the post-1945 German refrain of *belogen und betrogen*. He deserves patient and thoughtful readers who can interpret what he has described.

University of Wisconsin

ROBERT KOEHL

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND NAZI GERMANY. By *Guenter Lewy*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1964. Pp. xv, 416. \$7.50.)

THE brutal fact of totalitarianism has renewed scholarly interest in a classic aspect of church-state relations: the exercise of spiritual censure upon civil government. Professor Lewy makes this theme his central concern. And he has concluded that the Catholic Church failed in its moral obligation to accuse and condemn the Third Reich. The German hierarchy bears the brunt of his accusation, which also includes Pius XII. With a bow to the playwright, Rolf Hochhuth, the Pope's "si-

lence on the Jewish Question" gets scathing comment. These remorseless denunciations set the tone of the book.

An indignation that mounts to wrath has flawed what might have been an instructive study. Certainly there is evidence of much patient research in diocesan, regional, and national archives; in the files of the Church press, pastoral circulars, and sermons; and in the libraries of the principal institutes that deal with contemporary German history. A well-organized narrative covers the German hierarchy's political relations with the Third *Reich* throughout its historical span. Separate chapters or sections deal with topics of particular moral concern: the Nazi eugenic policies; the Jewish question; and the German resistance movement. Save for some comments on the Austrian episcopate at the time of *Anschluss*, the study focuses on the German hierarchy as constituted within the *Reich's* frontiers in 1933.

The author tars all the German bishops with the same brush. Indeed, his unrelieved condemnations grow tedious to the point of throwing doubt on his ability to understand and depict varying degrees of culpability. His virtual demand that the "church-state conflict" turn into "resistance" obscures the realities of the German Catholics' situation in the Third *Reich*. All the bishops have been made to seem extraordinarily pliant; despite endless rebukes they invariably strive to please the Nazis. They have been made to typify the "church" because the narrative has not included many references to the lower clergy, the laity, or the Protestant aspects of church-state relations. Here and there the author seems at pains to imply that the clash between the churches and the Third *Reich* was a postwar legend created by patriotic Germans. Perhaps not; an author so lacking in subtlety would probably have bludgeoned the point.

It should not come as a surprise that the author unequivocally rejects that aspect of the Catholic Church's magisterium which claims a universal moral authority. He has concluded that Catholic political morality serves primarily as a flexible adjunct of Vatican diplomacy, and that in any given situation the Catholic Church's overriding concern for its institutional presence invariably prevails against its disinterested moral counsel. Obviously these conclusions are not new. Do we need to be told that the Vatican's centurylong reliance on diplomacy to reconcile the conflicting claims of civil and spiritual power had proclaimed its own bankruptcy in the concordat made with the *Reich* in 1933? And for some time now moral theologians have been asking how the Church can provide social and political guidance without appearing to be anxious about preserving its own stake in the world.

Notwithstanding Lewy's earnestness about his own conclusions, they are irrelevant. His text proclaims his real conviction that the spiritual power should censure civil government, and more, that it should encourage and foster resistance leading to the overthrow of tyranny. He can say that, "Had German Catholicism from the start adhered to a policy of resolute opposition to the Nazi regime, world history might well have taken a different course."

He is undoubtedly right in concluding that the German bishops underestimated their political strength. Not even a totalitarian government can remain indifferent to public disquiet, or to a show of popular resentment. Effective Catholic remonstrances against the Nazi euthanasia program demonstrate this point. Cardinal Bertram's protest in the name of the hierarchy (August 11, 1940) and

Bishop Galen's sermon (August 3, 1940) appear to have slowed and then stopped euthanasia—at least on the home front. Why, in the face of this success (and some others that Lewy records), did the hierarchy fail to speak out plainly against mass deportations and the "Final Solution"? Some prelates did show their concern: Bishop Berning (Osnabrück) and Bishop Preysing (Berlin) tried early in the war to overcome the inhumanity of the deportations; late in 1943, and again in 1944, Archbishop Frings (Cologne) denounced racial murder.

To explain the hierarchy's reticence, Lewy dismisses those wartime pressures and urgencies that give rise to moral ambivalence in every nation. He also minimizes the Nazis' success in disrupting the Church as an institution: suppressing the Church press, dissolving the youth organization, scrutinizing sermons, and harassing clergymen by ordinary criminal indictments. After the outbreak of war the regime used a "cold persuasion" that put outspoken or troublesome clerics in uniform at the front.

The bishops acquiesced, in Lewy's opinion, because they were striving for something more than a truce between Church and state. They were attempting "to find common ground between Catholic and National Socialist thinking." The bishops are said to have accepted anti-Semitism because it had become part of the German Catholic outlook. They are characterized as having endorsed authoritarian politics because it sought ends that they considered patriotic and Christian. They are represented as having supported Hitler's foreign policy, applauded his diplomatic triumphs, and, during the first three years of the war, as having proclaimed Germany's just cause. By this stand, the hierarchy became, in the author's opinion, a pliable instrument for enlisting Catholics in the service of the Nazi regime.

It is questionable whether the data presented here sustain such drastic conclusions, particularly those pertaining to the hierarchy's outlook on the German war effort. In any event, credulity becomes strained by so many one-sided judgments that reflect an excessive moral zeal. Well-tempered moral judgments do not stifle scholarship; verbal outrage on the contrary gives an impression of injustice. The firm tone appropriate for this church-state episode might have been taken from Jeremiah: "The priests did not say: Where is the Lord? and they that held the law knew me not, and the pastors transgressed against me: and the prophets prophesied in Baal, and followed idols."

University of Oregon

WILLIAM O. SHANAHAN

THE GERMAN ECONOMY AT WAR. By *Alan S. Milward*. (London: University of London, the Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York, 1965. Pp. vi, 214. \$6.00.)

IN 1959 Dr. Burton H. Klein's *Germany's Economic Preparations for War* overthrew the established scholarly views on the Nazi economy by demonstrating that it had not been organized on a massive scale for war either before 1939 or in the first few years after 1939. In 1961 Sir Charles Webster's and Dr. Noble Frankland's *Strategic Air Offensive against Germany, 1939-1945*, confirmed this new thesis. Now Dr. Alan S. Milward gives us both a powerful amplification of Klein's revisionist position and an incisive, scholarly analysis of the turning points in Germany's economic strategy in World War II. He also sets down the history of

German war production and its administration against the military and political background. The author has utilized not only the available printed sources and monographs but also much unexplored and unprinted material, especially the records of the *Reichsministerium für Bewaffnung und Munition*, those of the *Wirtschafts- und Rüstungsamt* of *Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, the notes made by Albert Speer of his conferences with Hitler from 1942 to 1945, and the papers of General Thomas, chief of the "WiRüAmt."

Milward explains with great clarity how the *Blitzkrieg* strategy enabled the Nazis to give the Germans both guns and butter and to exploit the flexibility of the German economy according to the varying military needs of their successive campaigns from 1939 to 1941. Milward brings out for the first time the importance of Fritz Todt as the pioneer introducer of effective central controls over the German economy between February 1940 and his death two years later. In January 1942 he persuaded Hitler to end the *Blitzkrieg* economic setup and to inaugurate a war economy based on pitting the superior quality of German armaments against the mass production resources of its opponents. Albert Speer, Todt's successor, so increased the efficiency of centralized controls that German over-all armaments production more than doubled between July 1942 and July 1944. In June 1944 the Nazi leaders centered their war economy on the mass production of the weapons they already had. Within a year the declining levels of production and economic collapse proved that the economic ability of Todt and Speer could not overcome Nazi Germany's major strategic error of waging a two-front war against the USA, Britain, the USSR, and their allies.

I disagree with the author when he depreciates the importance of the Hermann Göring Works' iron and steel production. On the contrary, see the Webster and Frankland work. No mention is made of Germany's failure to produce an atom bomb despite the research directed by Heisenberg. The comprehensive bibliography may now be supplemented by *Blitzkrieg to Defeat*, edited by H. R. Trevor-Roper (1965). Leslie E. Simon, *German Research in World War II* (1947), although not cited by Milward, supplements his book and criticizes Speer's contempt for German science as it was being applied during the war. These omissions, however, are slight flaws in a fine book.

Rutgers University

SIDNEY RATNER

DOCUMENTS ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1918-1945. Series D (1937-1945). Volume XIII, THE WAR YEARS, JUNE 23-DECEMBER 11, 1941. [Department of State Publication 7682.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1964. Pp. lxxx, 1035. \$4.00.)

LIKE Alexander the Great in 323 B.C. and Napoleon in 1812, Adolf Hitler approached the very summit of empire at the end of 1941. Most of his great victories lay behind him; most of his great defeats were soon to come. The 578 documents in this volume record the critical events in German diplomacy from the invasion of the Soviet Union in June to the declaration of war on the United States in December. They reveal with remarkable clarity the fateful ambiguities of Hitler's ambitions. By the end of the year, Hitler's policies achieved the triumphant domination of more territory than ever before in German history. Yet at the

same time they also produced the disastrous situation in which Germany was forced to fight a major two-front war in the East and West.

There are few doubts and many arrogant assertions about Germany's destiny expressed in this collection. In a telegram sent shortly after the beginning of the Russian war, Foreign Minister Ribbentrop confidently cabled his ambassador in Japan: "Please tell Mr. Matsuoka . . . we expect the Stalin regime to collapse in the not-too-distant future." Thereafter Hitler's directives, Ribbentrop's instructions, and German ambassadorial reports from around the world joined together in exultant adulation of Germany's "most sacred task": the fight against Russian Bolshevism. Other documents contain a variety of unequivocal historic judgments by German leaders. Hitler reminded Marshal Pétain that it was France that declared war on Germany "without any sort of reason or motive." Ribbentrop claimed that Roosevelt's anti-German policy was "a great big bluff" without any real basis of power except among the Jews. Only rarely do the voices of caution come through in these pages. One example occurs in a report from Italy where Foreign Minister Ciano gloomily predicted that no final victory in the war was possible for either side. Another example comes in a telegram from the German chargé d'affaires in Washington; he urgently warned against underestimating American military strength which, he thought, could be attributed to the tradition of Washington, Steuben, and "thereby to Frederick the Great." Such counsel went unheeded.

The intentions of German diplomacy in these months were direct and undisguised: to bring influence on Japan to enter the war against Soviet Russia; to set up a coordinated occupation policy for the Balkan nations; to keep at a minimum the frictions with Italy; to establish closer ties with Japan through the Tripartite Pact; and to work for the continuing isolation of the United States in international affairs. It is obvious from these documents that Hitler's declaration of war on December 11, 1941, was no precipitate act; weeks earlier he had determined that Germany would join in any war against America.

This compilation is the final one of the series which originally proposed to cover the years from 1937 to 1945 but which now prematurely terminates with the German declaration of war against the United States. The international group of historians and editors have performed a notable service for future scholars.

Harvard University

RICHARD M. HUNT

STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES PREUSSENLANDES: FESTSCHRIFT FÜR ERICH KEYSER ZU SEINEM 70. GEBURTSTAG DARGEBRACHT VON FREUNDEN UND SCHÜLERN. Edited by *Ernst Bahr*. (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag. 1963. Pp. 517.)

SPIEGEL DER GESCHICHTE: FESTGABE FÜR MAX BRAUBACH ZUM 10. APRIL 1964. Edited by *Konrad Repgen* and *Stephan Skälweit*. (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff. 1964. Pp. viii, 976. DM 120.)

THESE TWO *Festschriften* are noble examples of their literary type. The first has the advantage of concentrating on one major subject, the history of Prussia, and covering many of its aspects well. The second, on the other hand, presents a great variety of attractive and thoughtful essays. Both should be of value to American historians and are recommended for academic libraries.

Since Paul Simson's death, Erich Keyser has been the undisputed authority on Danzig's colorful and sometimes tragic history. The fate that befell his beloved home town and forced him into exile two decades ago (he has served as director of the *Herder-Institut* in Marburg for many years) has perhaps led him to accentuate his national point of view at times. Hermann Aubin presents a fine and generous appraisal of his lifework; Ernst and Jutta Bahr contribute an impressive bibliography of his writings. The essays written by Keyser's friends dwell on the development of Prussia, especially the provinces of East and West Prussia, from the early days of civilization to the collapse under Hitler. Perhaps the most charming contribution is Rolf Walters' well-illustrated essay on "Das Danziger Frauen-trachtenbuch." The papers by Fritz Gause on Königsberg, Karl Hauke on Elbing, and William Rautenberg on the sale of the Marienburg are important for the historian. Two well-known geographers, the late Hans and his widow Gertrud Mortensen, deal with the "Kartenwerk Ost- und Westpreussen," and Walther Hubatsch discusses the roles of Sweden, Russia, and Prussia as Baltic Sea powers.

Max Braubach has spent his whole academic career at the University of Bonn. His wide range of scholarly interests is reflected in this tribute of his friends on his sixty-fifth birthday. To the reading public he is best known for his monumental biography of Prince Eugene of Savoy, of which four volumes have been published. But Braubach has also concerned himself extensively with the history of the Rhineland, especially in the eighteenth century, and with important issues of our times. Out of such a wealth of valuable essays, only a few representative samples can be mentioned. Among the contributors are outstanding Frenchmen like Jacques Droz and Roland Mousnier. Leo Weisgerber deals with language as a motivating factor in history, Wolfgang Zorn with university and high school in modern German social history, Hubert Jedin with an aspect of the Catholic reform in the Rhineland, Richard Nürnberger with Frederick the Great's reflections on Charles XII, and Theodor Schieder with the year 1813 and present-day Europe. Walter Bussmann sympathetically reappraises Friedrich Wilhelm IV. Percy Ernst Schramm reports on a strange visit with Wilhelm II in his exile in Doorn, Karl Dietrich Bracher brilliantly discusses election problems in the Weimar Republic, and Eberhard Kessel analyzes Seeckt's political program in 1923, whose impact he tends to overrate. The volume is terribly expensive, but worth every dollar it costs.

Trenton State College

FELIX E. HIRSCH

MACHIAVELLI AND GUICCIARDINI: POLITICS AND HISTORY IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY FLORENCE. By *Felix Gilbert*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 349. \$6.50.)

FELIX Gilbert's studies of Machiavelli and of his "ambience," appearing at intervals since 1939, were gathered into a single volume in Italian translation last year (*Machiavelli e il suo tempo*). The present volume is both an outgrowth of these earlier papers and a major study of the process by which new conceptions of politics and history emerged in early sixteenth-century Florence. Needless to say, Gilbert regards Machiavelli and Guicciardini as the founders of modern political thought and modern historiography. Their ideas "represent different, but closely connected stages in the attempt to gain comprehension of a changed and changing world."

Part I, "Politics," explores the political crisis in Florence after 1494; the struggle of the "aristocrats" to retain their accustomed leadership position against a middle-class challenge in the Great Council, and the new political concepts developed in this struggle; the abandonment of the idealistic view of politics as responsive to human rationality, the emergence of a sense of historical helplessness with a corresponding stress on military force, will power, daring, and cleverness. Part I ends with Chapter iv, "Machiavelli," who has hardly been mentioned before.

It has become clear, nonetheless, that many of the striking new ideas of Machiavelli have already appeared in the heated political atmosphere of Florence between 1494 and 1512, during much of which time Machiavelli had had an influential role in the government. Gilbert stresses the immediacy and political relevance of Machiavelli's ideas and at the same time shows how he crystallized these notions into a new and original conception of politics.

Machiavelli preferred the Great Council to aristocratic dominance, sought rational modes of political action, yet was deeply aware of the limits of reason. He admired forceful application of will by decisive individuals as an instrument of political success. If these ideas were shared with his contemporaries, "why," asks Gilbert, "was it he who constructed out of the ideas and the trends of political thought in his time a synthesis of permanent value?" Fundamentally, he believes, it was the combination of Machiavelli's unique political experience, his independence from aristocratic partisanship, and his humanist devotion to letters and the study of history that enabled him to become a revolutionary thinker. But personal gifts of sharpness of perception and expression were also essential. For Gilbert, Machiavelli's importance lies in his new view of man as confronting ever-changing historical circumstances, his notion of the autonomy of politics, and his vision of political man acting decisively to realize the potentialities of the moment.

Guicciardini, who figured prominently as an aristocratic political theorist in Part I, is the presiding genius of Part II, "History." Here the issue is the transcendence of the formalistic moralism of humanist historiography. Chapter v analyzes fifteenth-century humanist historical theory and practice, Chapter vi, the impact of the new political realism on a series of experiments in historical writing, prominent among them Guicciardini's early efforts. The abandonment of the notion that history and politics are subject to universal norms, along with a new realistic assessment of the morality of political behavior, shattered any confidence that history could be a guidebook to ethics. Instead the search for data in order to understand changing historical reality led to the new conception of history. Objective understanding and the use of valid data, increasingly documentary in character, are Guicciardini's historical goals as set forth in Chapter vii.

In place of the narrow humanist moralism Guicciardini comes to a new philosophical vision of the task of the historian: to portray the misery of the human condition and man's dignity in his uneven struggle with the uncontrollable forces of history. But humanism was vindicated in this view. Out of the caldron of the domestic political crisis in Florence and the larger crisis of Italy within the new European power struggle came these two closely connected new conceptions of politics and history.

Simply to describe this book is enough to indicate its importance to historians. Gilbert pays his respects to his colleagues and his predecessors in three comprehen-

sive and judiciously critical bibliographical essays: on Florentine institutional history, on Machiavelli, and on Renaissance historiography. Like its subjects, this book has a large vision, but one resting on solid and careful scholarship. It utilizes interesting new material from the Florentine archives and manuscript collections. In the much-plowed fields of Machiavelli and Guicciardini studies it is hazardous to speak of any one work as being definitive. Gilbert's, however, comes comfortably close. To my taste, he perhaps overemphasizes the idealism and moralism of humanist political thought and historiography before the crisis. *Quattrocento* humanists were moving toward realism and a conception of the autonomy of their disciplines. The early sixteenth-century crisis, acting as a catalyst, brought these trends to maturity. But in the end Gilbert affirms the presence of a new humanist vocation in both men and disciplines.

Sarah Lawrence College

CHARLES TRINKAUS

GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI: CORSARO RIOGRANDENSE (1837-1838). By *Salvatore Candido*. Preface by *Alberto M. Ghisalberti*. [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Biblioteca Scientifica. Series 2, Memorie. Volume XX.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1964. Pp. xi, 246.)

GARIBALDI's first South American venture was his buccaneering voyage (begun May 7, 1837, with the ship *Mazzini*) for the republic of Rio Grande do Sud, in revolt against Brazil. In the first and better part of this book the author seeks to explain why Garibaldi was hostilely received in Uruguay, when his patent from Rio Grande do Sud assured him he would find haven and support in the countries of the Río de la Plata. The future redshirt, who always generously and unselfishly offered his services, became the victim of a tortuous factional fight between Uruguay's first constitutional President, Fructuosa Rivera, and his successor, Manuel Oribe. When Garibaldi received his patent in November 1836, Oribe was consorting with the Rio Grande rebels, and Rivera was intriguing to secure the aid of Brazil to overthrow him. But by the time the corsair put in at Maldonado, Uruguay, the course of the struggle had been such that Rivera had gone over to the rebels and Oribe had closed in with Brazil.

In the rest of the book the author examines the various episodes of the expedition, such as the issuance of the patent, the voyage to and flight from Maldonado, the ensuing encounter at sea in which Garibaldi was seriously wounded, and his detention at Guleguay, in the Rosas province of Entre Rios. The author has used many unpublished documents in Uruguayan and Argentine archives, many of these appearing in the appendix. Unfortunately, except for perhaps a point or two, nothing important or interesting results from this, for he concerns himself with a good number of trivial matters. In addition to the degree of detail, this part of the book contains many unnecessary quotations that make for tedium in a tale of what was, as the author agrees, a most romantic undertaking.

University of California, Santa Barbara

DONALD A. LIMOLI

STORIA DEL PARLAMENTO ITALIANO. Directed by *Niccolò Rodolico*. Volume XVII, L'INCHIESTA JACINI. Edited by *Domenico Novacco*. (Palermo: S. F. Flaccovio, Editore. 1963. Pp. xv, 443.)

THE making of a united Italy in the middle of the nineteenth century suffered

from two severe limitations. The task had been to an almost exclusive degree in the hands of the literate, educated class, city people in the main; the agricultural mass had played a largely passive role in the process. Partly as a consequence of this the accent of the undertaking had been unduly political, to the detriment of other considerations, economic for instance.

The general movement of Europe, economic and social, in combination with the fact of unification, gave rise, however, to certain expectations which the passing of the years showed little signs of satisfying. After two decades "agricultural Italy feels impoverished and looks in distress to the future which threatens to become worse than the present." In this condition lay the origin of the investigation that Parliament finally undertook to sponsor and of which Senator Jacini was the painstaking mentor.

The task was slow and protracted—it lasted seven years—and was hampered by the paucity of appropriations, by the difficulty in obtaining statistical data, and by the divergent attitudes of the members of the investigating *Giunta*. There were twelve of these, the entire country having been divided into that number of separate regions for the purposes of the inquiry. The bulky proceedings were, consequently, uneven in their quality. They are critically summarized in the third chapter of this volume, whose greatest interest, however, derives from the discussion of the covering report that Jacini himself wrote in 1884, a task for which he was eminently qualified by his interest and competence.

One thing that emerged was the great diversity of the Italian land, not only or so much the well-known difference between north and south, but within the separate regions. Nevertheless, there were general considerations applicable to the whole, for example, the need of capital and a more rational use of the land.

The inquiry is a landmark, full of valuable information despite some limitations inherent in the outlook of its makers. Yet its impact was small and its results were questioned, just as its very conduct had been opposed by certain interests, the clerical among them, that feared the stimulation of what they considered unfulfillable expectations. Its fate was largely oblivion, and if the observation that little changed in Italy during the half centuries preceding and following the inquiry is doubtless an exaggeration, progress was, nevertheless, very slow. Not until our own time has the problem of Italian agriculture begun to take a new turn.

Barnard College

RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ

CAPORETTO: DAL DIARIO DI GUERRA INEDITO (MAGGIO-DICEMBRE 1917). By *Angelo Gatti*. Edited by *Alberto Monticone*. (3d ed.; [Bologna:] Società editrice il Mulino. 1964. Pp. lxviii, 477. L. 5,000.)

TRAINED to command, Colonel Angelo Gatti had already had a promising career as a teacher, as a writer on military affairs, and as an officer in the Trentino and at Gorizia when General Luigi Cadorna, Italy's supreme commander, called him to Udine in March 1917 to become the official historian of the command. Here he had a rare opportunity to know Italy's important civilian and military leaders and to study the war both at the front and in its impact on Italy. In addition to his official writing Gatti kept a personal diary from May to December 1917. This intimate document adds to our knowledge of Italy and Italians in the gravest crisis since unification. Equally valuable is the excellent introduction by Alberto Monticone.

The diary covers the tenth Battle of the Isonzo in May, the operations in the Trentino in June, the conquest of the Bainsizza region in August, and the Caporetto disaster in October and November. Additional documents from Gatti's papers are included in an appendix.

All of the weaknesses of Italy and all of the errors of Italian leaders in the years 1915-1917 receive Gatti's attention. The army and country were not united. Ammunition for the heavy artillery was in short supply, and there was inadequate preparation for the advance of the infantry. There was too little regard for the Italian soldier and for his morale. Severe war-weariness had infected the Italian Army, and the low morale of the soldiers in turn influenced relatives back home.

Gatti was an admirer of Cadorna and supported him to the end as the best commander for Italy, but he was also a severe critic of his chief. Cadorna was too inflexible; he was unable to control battles once they had commenced; he had no regard for his men; his promotion and replacement policy had severely damaged morale among the officers; he had neglected the Trentino; his policy of splitting up divisions was bad, and his use of reserves left much to be desired. Above all, Gatti found Cadorna in error in mounting the large offensives of 1917. Gatti favored limited operations against weak and vulnerable points in the Austrian lines. In fact, he believed that a military solution was no longer possible by 1917. Gatti was equally critical in his judgments of other military leaders, of Italy's allies, of the civilian rulers, and of the King. Gatti became slightly more optimistic when Italy's forces had limited success in August and September, but his fears returned with the disaster at Caporetto and the confused retreat of the Italian Army. The pages of the diary for October and November 1917 make tragic reading. Gatti favored retreat all the way to the Mincio, and he was slow to develop any faith in General Armando Diaz, Cadorna's successor.

Colgate University

WILLIAM C. ASKEW

ISTORIA ROMÂNIEI [History of Rumania]. Volume IV, FORMAREA ȘI CONSOLIDAREA ORÎNDUIRII CAPITALISTE (1848-1878) [Formation and Consolidation of the Capitalist System (1848-1878)]. Edited by P. Constantinescu-Iași et al. [Academia Republicii Populare Romîne.] ([Bucharest:] the Academia. 1964. Pp. xxxix, 860. Lei 45.)

THE period 1848-1878 has consistently interested students of Rumanian history. The pre-Marxist school of Rumanian historians from Xenopol to Iorga regarded this brief chronological span as crucial to understanding the nationalist tradition. To them 1848 was the link between the initial national revolt against foreign domination in 1821 and the initial triumph of the national cause, the formal establishment of independent Rumania in 1878. Western historians, notably R. W. Seton-Watson, P. Henry, and Thad Riker, have been similarly intrigued with the problems of Rumanian nationalism, focusing their attention on the antecedents or the actual formation of the national state.

For different reasons, contemporary Marxist scholars are also concerned with the problems of 1848-1878, as demonstrated by their devoting an entire volume of the projected eight-volume synthesis of Rumanian history to this period. In the elaborate scheme for chronological revision devised by the Rumanian Academy, modern Rumanian history begins with 1848, the year marking the transition from

the feudal to the bourgeois-capitalist order. In turn, 1878 is a milestone because the establishment of the independent national state represents the consolidation of that order.

The authors of this volume do not dispute the significance of nationalism as a determining factor in the events of this period; they do, however, classify it as "bourgeois-nationalism," identifying it specifically with the class interest of the rising capitalists and contrasting it with the "reactionary" nationalism of the landed aristocracy and the "patriotism" of the oppressed peasantry. Thus, the class struggle involving the landowners, bourgeoisie, and peasantry in 1848 continued during the next three decades and resulted first in the union of the principalities in 1858, then in the emancipation of the peasantry in 1864, and finally in the formal establishment of the independent national state in 1878. The union and emancipation are regarded as consequences of the common opposition to feudalism by the economically rising middle class and the land-hungry peasantry. To a lesser extent the same factors are also crucial in the war for national independence, although by then the successful bourgeoisie, while still opposed to the landlord interests, was showing its true class hostility toward the masses.

The intertwining of the socioeconomic problems with the political, and the adding of other dimensions to relatively simplistic earlier interpretations of nationalism, is indeed justified. It is also, generally, skillfully executed. The several authors have packed an enormous amount of factual information into this volume. Much of the material, especially on economic growth and institutions, is based on hitherto unexplored archival sources. The conclusions, on the other hand, are occasionally questionable. For instance, the view that the landlord class frequently sabotaged the war for national independence requires more careful explanation as it can be interpreted in these terms only in the context of extreme forms of class struggle. Such conflicts, however, were not of primary importance in 1877-1878. Similarly, the contention that the course of Rumanian history was determined in these decades by internal forces rather than foreign powers is oversimplified but significant per se. As the Rumanian regime has now proclaimed itself independent and heir to the national historic tradition, the role of external powers, particularly Russia, in influencing if not determining the country's history is to be minimized and obscured. Petre Constantinescu-Iași and his scholarly associates have carried out their assignment well.

Wayne State University

STEPHEN FISCHER-GALAȚI

REVOLUTION AND DEFEAT: THE STORY OF THE GREEK COMMUNIST PARTY. By *D. George Kousoulas*. With a foreword by *C. M. Woodhouse*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 306. \$7.00.)

RECENTLY we have seen the publication of a series of histories of the Communist parties of Eastern Europe. This present history of the Greek party, the first of its kind in any language, is a welcome addition to a growing list. Its author has unusual qualifications. He participated in the armed struggle against the Communists and was captured by them. He has interviewed key figures in this struggle and obtained access to confidential archives, including those of Constantine Maniadakis, the police chief who virtually broke up the KKE during the Metaxas dictatorship. From such sources he is able to demonstrate that it was probably Tito's

promise of support that explains the sudden reversal of ELAS policy and the attack on the British forces in Athens in December 1944. It is a pity that Kousoulas does not always give us the standard bibliographical data for his unusual sources.

The greatest strength of Kousoulas' beautifully written work is its presentation of the tactics and the strategy of the Communist conflict. His description of the way in which Maniadaakis infiltrated and disorganized the KKE, and especially his utilization of the repentance declaration, is a near classic. The analysis of guerrilla warfare in all three rounds adds a new dimension to our understanding of the campaigns of ELAS and the Democratic Army, and particularly of the military blunders of their divided and quarreling leaderships.

The principal failing of Kousoulas' book lies in its implicit and explicit presentation of the Greek Communist as a *deus ex machina*, who appears almost from nowhere, a sordid and sinister figure, unpatriotic, even un-Greek. Kousoulas virtually ignores the role of the Jewish colony in Thessalonike, and of its organization *Federación*, in the founding of the Greek party. He never once suggests that the Greek refugees driven from Asia after 1923 produced substantially above average numbers of Communists, although analysis of election returns or of any central committee would have revealed this fact. As for the role of the "so-called" Slavophone minority in the third round, this is touched upon but gingerly; the reader would never divine that most of the guerrilla army in 1949 was probably made up of Slavic speakers.

Despite such weaknesses, Kousoulas' work adds significantly to our knowledge and understanding. In the future, no one who does research on Greek Communism can ignore his book.

Radio Free Europe

R. V. BURKS

POLITICS OF SOCIALIST AGRICULTURE IN POLAND: 1945-1960. By Andrzej Korbonski. [East Central European Studies of Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 330. \$7.50.)

EXCEPT for a few minor blemishes this book is excellent. Agricultural theory and policy have never been a Communist forte, something that can be exceedingly embarrassing for a system and a philosophy that so far have been implanted almost exclusively in predominantly rural and economically relatively backward societies. Nowhere is this more startlingly brought out than in the slipshod and bungling attempts of the Polish party to reconcile a rigid dogma, halfheartedly imported from abroad, with the sociopolitical aspirations of Poland's peasantry and the needs of an economy subjected to industrial development at breakneck speed.

Korbonski discusses in detail rich with bibliographical suggestions the essentially political, social, and national rather than economic land reforms of interwar Poland, the role of the peasant parties and of the Communists at that time, the changed position of the peasant in Polish society during the German occupation, including the process of social and economic leveling and the political shift of the nation to the Left, tragically overlooked by the Polish government-in-exile and the non-Communist resistance movement inside Poland. He rightly points out that by 1944 "the main question was *who* would actually conduct the [land] reform and not *how* the reform was to be executed." The academically commend-

able attention to specifics dominates the chapters on the 1944–1949 land reform and the rise and fall of the peasant political opposition. Not enough care is given to external, especially Soviet, influences in guaranteeing the political success of the Polish Communists. Poland's internal policies cannot be fully understood merely by cataloguing the activities of KRN, PSL, PPS, PZPR, BCH, ZSCH, and a few other warring, splitting, and disunited parties and movements. The Polish marionettes, democratic and Communist alike, were caught in a great current of history, the sources of which were in Moscow, London, Washington, and Yalta. This broader perspective is lost in the flood of detail concerning the gyrations of local politicians. The chapters on collectivization (1949–1954), the “new course,” and the defeat of the party's inept agricultural policy culminating in the collapse of collectivization (November–December 1956) are incisive. The Communists destroyed the peasant political opposition, but not peasant resistance. This resistance, Korbonski convincingly points out, was fed less by religious and patriotic motives—often exaggerated out of all proportion—than by the peasants' hatred for the Communists who stood for the destruction of individual property, forced collectivization *à la russe*, the lowering of peasant living standards in the name of accumulation, and the uprooting of peasant institutions.

The critical economic situation of the country and the party's admission in October 1956 that its agrarian policy had been wrongheaded contributed to the collapse of the shaky collective structure. Henceforth, Korbonski concludes, the party's agricultural policy came to be dictated primarily by economic considerations, a trend that is likely to continue into the future. The trouble, however, is that, as the author himself notes in the preface, “the border line between politics and economics in Soviet-type societies is at best a tenuous one,” and that as yet, in spite of Lange and Kalecki, there is no socialist science of microeconomics that would tell the policy makers just what precisely these “economic considerations” are.

Pennsylvania State University

JAN S. PRYBYLA

PRINCE A. M. KURBSKY'S HISTORY OF IVAN IV. Edited with a translation and notes by J. L. I. Fennell. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 313. \$12.50.)

TWICE within a decade Mr. Fennell has earned our appreciation with the publication of major sixteenth-century Muscovite sources. The first English translation with an excellent edition of the Russian text of Prince Andrei Mikhailovich Kurbsky's correspondence with Tsar Ivan IV appeared in 1955; Fennell has now followed with Kurbsky's *History of the Grand Prince of Moscow*. Only a few American libraries have acquired one of its several nineteenth- and early twentieth-century editions. A recent microcard version, though more readily accessible, is also more difficult to use; hence the appearance of Kurbsky's *History* should be warmly welcomed. The translation, a first into any language, is ably and commendably rendered, though there will be some quarrel with the interpretation of some passages and with the occasional freedom taken to produce a flowing English version. Fennell's explanatory notes handsomely complement this sometimes misleading and often difficult source. (After I completed this review, I received a brochure announcing the publication of Prince André Kourbski, *Histoire du*

règne de Jean IV [Ivan le Terrible], translated by M. Forstetter and edited by A. V. Soloviev (1965). Not knowing of the publication of the Fennell edition, the publisher claims: "Pour la première fois, la biographie d'Ivan le Terrible, . . . paraît dans une langue occidentale.")

Descended from one of the prolific branches of the Iaroslavsky princes, Andrei Mikhailovich (1528–1583) was one of the third generation of Kurbsky princes to serve the rulers of Muscovy. Probably the most talented, certainly the most successful, of his line, Prince Andrei became a celebrated general in his twenty-fourth year and a member of the select royal council at the astonishingly young age of twenty-eight. In his eight years as a councilor of the Tsar and trusted military commander, Kurbsky watched his influence gradually decline as the Tsar turned an ever-growing wrath against all who differed with him. Finally, fearing for his life, Kurbsky abandoned his field command and sought asylum with the Lithuanian enemy. For the last nineteen years of his life he lived in honored exile, whiling away leisure days learning Latin, acquainting himself with the classics of antiquity, and writing to justify his act of desertion.

Kurbsky designed his history as a moral indictment of Muscovite autocracy for the edification of a non-Russian audience. This is why the work is studded with Polonisms and Latinized terminology. In part, this may also explain why Kurbsky endeavored to write with a grace and rhetorical skill rare in the Muscovite literature of the period.

The exiled Prince emerges as a complex and contradictory figure. An admirer of wisdom and intellect, he frequently explained events through the workings of the Devil and the miraculous. Residing in foreign sanctuary, he railed against Muscovite grand princes who married foreigners, to whom he attributed the most pernicious influences. Even his aristocratic hosts came off poorly as measured by the Kurbsky ethic: he accused them of immoderation, indolence, and a loss of their sense of duty. Fiercely Orthodox in religion, he masked his aversion to Catholicism and savagely attacked Protestantism. This conservative would have liked to return to the good old days of the fifteenth century, when the clergy acted as the conscience of the rulers and when wise men helped shape the policies of princes.

Beyond the revelation of the author's personality and attitudes, Kurbsky's *History* is an invaluable historical document for the descriptions of the conquest of Kazan, for military developments in the early years of the Livonian War, and for information concerning the great purges that engulfed untold numbers of people. Kurbsky's reliance upon his own memory and his Herodotian willingness to accept hearsay evidence led him into frequent error. The paucity of reliable documentation for much of the period of Ivan IV's reign nonetheless makes Kurbsky's *History* an indispensable source.

University of Oregon

GUSTAVE ALEF

THE RUSSIAN JEW UNDER TSARS AND SOVIETS. By *Salo W. Baron*. [Russian Civilization Series.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1964. Pp. xv, 427. \$7.50.)

SINCE we Jews have a certain reputation as a cosmopolitan people, it seems curious that Jewish history has been written generally in such parochial and restricted terms. I do not mean that histories of large-scale coverage are lacking, but rather

that they tend to seem constrained in the scope of what they feel free to express and to speculate on, and constrained in their approach—almost as though the writing of Jewish history in the modern era, like so many of the events depicted therein, had been shaped and determined by anti-Semitism itself, and the need, against terrible and stultifying odds, to cope with it. In science and the arts, in philosophy and religion, Jews have shaken some rich human melodies from this need. In the writing of history, it has resulted in long chronicles of the suffering of the Jews, of the injustice and irrationality of their suffering and of anti-Semitism, a kind of Sisyphean labor of documentation that must begin anew with each new proof that injustice and irrationality are indeed undeterred by it. Professor Baron's new book provokes thoughts like these because it is better than most—judicious, erudite, and, in a conventional way, well written—and because it nevertheless fails to be different.

As a survey or chronicle, the book's virtues far outweigh its defects. It is good to have information one finds scattered through Dubnow, Greenberg, Schwartz, and various Yiddish, Hebrew, and Russian works, so compactly and austere presented in a single volume. True, I miss a good index, a critical bibliography, certain maps and charts, a more critical attitude toward the sources (especially the earlier ones), and in places even better proofreading, but these are minor matters. What I really miss in this book is the characterization of the Russian Jew the title seems to promise.

In the best chapters, Baron sums up at least the external shifts and vicissitudes of Jewish existence in the more recent period by interpreting the meaning of population data. He is himself quick to state the limitations of such an approach. After all, he is the author of a brilliant and controversial eight-volume work on the social and religious history of Jews in the Middle Ages. Yet he makes no serious attempt to characterize the inward, spiritual development of Russian Jews, nor to assess the human meaning of this development. He describes Hebrew and Yiddish literature with such a benign and "objective" impartiality that it comes as a shock rather late in the book to read that over 90 per cent of Russian Jews were Yiddish in their culture. What *were* the distinctive characteristics of Hebrew and Yiddish literature? Why did they contend, and over what? Did the controversy affect the nature of the two literatures? It is not enough merely to chronicle the great names. Nor can one "explain" Russified Jews like Trotsky and Isaac Babel only in terms of their "self-contempt," which no doubt they felt, but which hardly exhausts the range or quality of their Jewishness or their significance for the history of the Jews or for mankind.

The characteristic attitudes of Jews toward each other, toward the Russian world around them, and toward the world at large, remain largely unexplored. The attitudes of Russians toward the Jews are, on the other hand, treated in a rather conventional ethical-rational manner, with gratitude for those who helped and indignation for those who hated. Complex attitudes, like Dostoevski's or even Pobedonostsev's, are briefly described but are not analyzed; thus that strange and significant world where philo-Semitism and anti-Semitism meet is never approached.

Nor is it necessary, as Baron seems tempted to do, once again to demonstrate the absurdity of charges of "ritual murder"; some attempt needs to be made to explain them. Precisely because they are irrational, a merely rational explanation can-

not be satisfactory. There is at least a mythical, a psychological, an emotive meaning it is now too late to avoid. We study the seventeenth century witch trials properly. Why not the Beilis case? I want to know more of and about the myths and legends Russians made up about the Jews. And what is the meaning of the Jews' own myths about themselves? About the Russians? About the goyim in general? What is their inner attitude to the triumphs and defeats they have suffered on Russian soil; to the vicissitudes, the peculiar qualities of life in the *shtetl*, in the big city and on the farm, and how do these attitudes express themselves? Above all, what is in them for us?

To his credit, Baron manages to imply these questions; yet rarely does he grapple with them. The optimistic note on which the book ends, given the burden of the narrative, must strike the reader as weird. The significance of Evtushenko (of which Baron is aware) and the strange, exhilarating, philo-Semitic atmosphere in which he and his youthful audience are steeped are not easily accounted for by anything in this book, or indeed by any other that has so far been written about the Jew in Russia and his relations with his Russian neighbor.

In some of the greatest works of modern literature the figure of the Jew has assumed a central human significance. Surely it is not by chance that these have been for the most part works that have abandoned conventional narrative and chronology—Joyce's *Ulysses*, Proust, Kafka, Isaac Babel—works that have invoked, used, and attempted to explore the dimensions of myth and the unconscious. Should historiography do less?

University of Rochester

SIDNEY MONAS

DESCENT INTO DARKNESS: THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN RUSSIA, 1917-1923. By James J. Zatko. ([Notre Dame, Ind.:] University of Notre Dame Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 232. \$6.95.)

FATHER Zatko has been engaged for about a decade in research on the Roman Catholic Church in Russia. This appears to be his first book on the subject, but he has previously published articles on various aspects of it. His research has been extensive and painstaking, making use of published and unpublished primary sources in American and Polish depositories, and he has included some materials, such as those provided him by Monsignor Bronislaw Ussas of Warsaw, which have not been previously available. Aspirants for the doctorate, querulous over language requirements, should take note of the author's command of Latin, Russian, Polish, German, French, Italian, and English. One might wish that his bibliographies had been annotated and that tangential secondary sources had been excluded, but practices and judgments on these points vary, and Zatko's list of sources is impressive.

An introductory chapter sketches the relations, primarily legal, of the Roman Catholic Church with the Imperial Russian government from 1772 to 1914; an epilogue traces developments from 1924 to 1931. The chronological emphasis, however, is on the period from the February Revolution to the conclusion of the 1923 trial. Zatko does not ignore personalities, but his main interests are legal and institutional, and his major concern is stated by the subtitle. Related, subsidiary themes include the relations of the Roman Catholic hierarchy with the Russian Catholic Church of the Eastern rite and with the Russian Orthodox Church,

intraorganizational problems, international relations, and some specifics of diplomatic history. Why the last two center on Russo-Polish and Soviet-Vatican affairs is succinctly stated by the author: "The Roman Catholics in Russia were, however, in a peculiar position in that the majority of them were Poles and that they all owed religious allegiance to authorities outside Russia." The climax of the monograph is its account of the infamous trial of Archbishop Cieplak, Exarch Fedorov of the Catholic Byzantine rite, Monsignori Malecki and Budkiewicz, eleven priests, and one layman—the last on a minor charge.

The general outlines of this detailed story have long been familiar. Zatko elaborates, adds, and, in some instances, corrects. His main contribution is the scholarly presentation of what might be called without any invidious implications an "inside story" of events. This, as well as some of his interpretations and comments, may stir up controversies in certain quarters.

Two examples will illustrate some of the mooted, or potentially moot, points. The author is sensitive to the nationalistic aspects of his problem, especially as they affected Poles and eastern Slavs, and he seeks to show from the evidence that the Roman Catholic leaders attempted to separate their nationalism from the religious problem. This may have been as Zatko alleges, but there were participants and observers to whom the national aspects appeared more real and important than the religious aspects.

Summing up the 1923 trial, Zatko concludes: "The general Catholic reaction was that the shooting [of Budkiewicz] was but one incident in the general campaign against all religion and against Catholicism in particular." One infers that he also sees the whole story primarily in the same terms. Antireligion was certainly an integral part of Bolshevik beliefs and practices. The author explains that the Bolsheviks "persisted in viewing religion as a supporter of the old regime" and denies that the Roman Catholics of Russia could have effectively supported the old regime had they even wished to do so. Is it not more likely that what the Kremlin feared was not a Roman Catholic alliance with the remnants of the old order but an institutional rival which, if allowed to exist on the only terms it could accept, might threaten the new regime?

Syracuse University

WARREN B. WALSH

CONFLICT AND DECISION-MAKING IN SOVIET RUSSIA: A CASE STUDY OF AGRICULTURAL POLICY, 1953-1963. By *Sidney I. Ploss*. [Sponsored by the Princeton Center of International Studies.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. 312. \$6.50.)

MR. Ploss aims to show how Soviet politics works by reconstructing the post-Stalin history of major disputes over agricultural policy and how decisions were finally made. The main theme is the process by which Khrushchev gained acceptance for new policies and approaches such as the dissolution of the MTS and the abandonment of the grass field system against the opposition of more Centrist and Stalinist opinions.

The method of the study is "kremlinological." The author meticulously catalogues textual differences in the policy statements of different people, looks for slight differences in the lines that *Pravda* and *Izvestia* took on a given issue, notes carefully the timing of pronouncements, and so forth, to discern conflicts and

identify factions. He then builds on this a rather elaborate structure of inference about who was trying to do what and why.

One's reaction to the book will depend mostly on his feelings about the method. I distrust it. The conflicts are there, but the important ones are often more obvious and have more substance to them than Ploss's approach suggests. One finishes the book feeling that he has been told much more than is really necessary about who was saying what on what occasion and what it may have meant. The "kremlinological" interpretation of any substantive issue is likely to seem garbled to anyone who has followed the issue on his own. For example, Ploss refers to variations in the "share of the military in all state investment," but that is a mare's-nest both conceptually and operationally. It may be argued that the issues are garbled in the minds of the persons engaged in Soviet politics and that the political process must be followed and analyzed in this garbled idiom. To me this is an erroneous position and is connected with one serious weakness of the book in its attempt to explain decision making. What made Khrushchev's Russia different from Stalin's was that conflicts were brought more and more into the open and argued out with the participation of technical experts, whose views and opinions played a real role in the outcome. In general the book slights this aspect of the decision-making process. It is indicative that Ploss has more or less ignored the agricultural literature and relied almost exclusively on the central political press and speeches.

Finally, looked at as a history of agricultural policy in this period, the book presents a rather distorted perspective. The most important policy change in the whole period was probably the decision to raise the prices for agricultural products. But this momentous decision has somehow failed to attract the author's attention, though it is difficult to believe that it generated no conflict.

Despite these misgivings, this is a stimulating book, even if the response it elicits is often a defensive reaction to try to define more clearly one's own view of how Soviet politics works rather than a conviction that Ploss has provided the answer.

Indiana University

ROBERT W. CAMPBELL

Near East

COUNSELS IN CONTEMPORARY ISLAM. By *Kenneth Cragg*. [Islamic Surveys, Number 3.] (Edinburgh: University Press; distrib. by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1965. Pp. xiv, 255. \$4.75.)

THIS volume is designed to present to "the educated reader something more than can be found in the usual popular books," and its author is eminently qualified to discuss the subject from theoretical and practical angles.

The theme of the present work may be stated briefly: Islam in modern times is in a state of decadence, and Muslims, under the impact of the West, have become aware of this fact, but the various Islamic countries have reacted differently to the challenge. Islam is defined as both religion and state and is identified with power. Islamic revival, according to Cragg, can resolve the ultimate crisis only in terms of Islamic power. "This characteristic affinity with power on the part of Islam," says the author, "means that the events of the last few decades have to be

seen not simply as the recession of Western empire but the recovery of Islamic pattern." Traditional Islam has provided means of revival by the rise of inspired reformers, one at the turn of each century. These reformers, often referred to as Mahdis or messiahs, have been able to guide Muslims toward progress in the past, but in modern times reformers no longer claim to be inspired. Most of them have justified their call to reform on the basis of a Koranic injunction that states: "their [Muslim] affairs are by counsel among them."

Cragg's book is not intended to be a systematic treatment of all modern reform movements in Islam, but rather a discussion of selected reformers who responded differently to the challenge of reform. Neither Jinnah nor Iqbal could offer formulas that would adequately make Pakistan a truly Islamic state. In Turkey, Islam was secularized under Kemal Atatürk, but the author detects in recent Islamic revival an attempt to interpret Islam in a way that may perhaps meet a pressing religious need. Cragg finds in Egypt the type of reformer who came nearest to satisfying the standard envisaged for a truly Islamic revival—Muhammad Abduh. Abduh believed that true Islam, freed from un-Islamic accretions, was "perfectly reconcilable with modern thought and conditions." He set forth the possibility of interpreting Islam by reason and advocated the adoption of Western science and education. Although sometimes critical of Abduh's methods, the author finds him far more constructive than many other Arab reformers. Cragg appears critical of reformers who do not interpret Islam in terms of its classical meaning and regards any departure from this standard as failure to offer a satisfactory interpretation. He particularly criticizes Muslim leaders whose conduct betrays secular tendencies. Whatever his personal convictions may have been, Jinnah may well be regarded as the typical Muslim leader of today who laid the foundation of a modern Islamic state (modern in the sense of being a fully self-governing, self-accommodating member of the community of nations). How an Islamic state is to be ultimately defined in constitutional terms would be a matter for the collective conscience of the present Muslim community to determine rather than conformity to a strictly classical standard.

Johns Hopkins University

MAJID KHADDURI

ATATURK: A BIOGRAPHY OF MUSTAFA KEMAL, FATHER OF MODERN TURKEY. By *Lord Kinross*. (New York: William Morrow and Company. 1965. Pp. ix, 615. \$7.50.)

THE Turkish revolution in 1960, with its undercurrent of religious reaction and subsequent political instability, has caused the achievements of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk to be questioned. Many observers are not as convinced as they once were that Atatürk succeeded in creating a democratic, secular state capable of perpetuating itself and forging ahead. Discussion of these issues is hampered by the lack of a sound biography, popular or scholarly, of Atatürk himself. Popular accounts such as Brock's *Ghost on Horseback* and Armstrong's *Grey Wolf* are sensationalist, while the sympathetic study written by a committee of Turkish scholars for the article "Atatürk" in the Turkish version of the *Encyclopaedia of Islām* is far from critical. The difficulties facing a biographer of Atatürk, not the least of which is the inviolability of his memory in Turkey, are enormous. Undismayed by these obstacles, Lord Kinross set his hand to the task and has produced a most readable

study of the career and tempestuous times of that imposing soldier-statesman.

Based on the author's wide reading and long acquaintance with Turkey and prominent Turks, this volume is more a synthesis of what is known about Atatürk and the emergence of modern Turkey than a book of revelations. Atatürk's public and private lives are treated with tact and recounted with style in a narrative that hardly ever falters. A strong admirer of Atatürk, the author is, nevertheless, objective and somewhat candid in his view of this great man, citing as faults that he was vain, vindictive, callous at times of human life, and, after 1928, often involved in intellectual matters beyond his comprehension and training. Members of Atatürk's immediate entourage, including İsmet İnönü who is depicted as a plodding, overcautious latecomer to the war of independence, come in for their share of criticism.

The virtues of this book are at the root of its shortcomings. Because the book was written to appeal to a wide popular audience, its scholarly apparatus is almost nonexistent. This is especially unfortunate since Kinross has had access to unpublished materials including the presidential archives at Çankaya. The swift pace of the narrative does not allow for sufficient investigation of motives and causes. As a result the mountaintops are illumined, but the more intriguing valleys are left unexplored. More should have been done with the relationship between the reforms initiated by Enver Pasha and the later Atatürk reforms, as well as with the role of Rumelian-Anatolian tensions in the war of independence and the early republic.

Those disillusioned by the events of 1960 can take heart from these words in the epilogue: "What Atatürk left to the Turkey he had freed was strong foundations and a clear objective for her future growth. He gave her not merely durable institutions but a national ideal rooted in patriotism, nourished by a new self-respect. . . . He infused them with a belief in the values of Western democracy, which they learnt sincerely to respect, differing only as to the means of achieving it. All that he gave them survives as a living force in the Turk of today." It is difficult to argue with this conclusion.

Princeton University

NORMAN ITZKOWITZ

THE COVENANT AND THE SWORD: ARAB-ISRAELI RELATIONS, 1948-56. By *Earl Berger*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 245. \$5.75.)

THE clash of nationalisms and the rise of political expectations in the present century have ushered into the arena of world affairs a number of conflicts as complex and as bitterly contested as any in all man's history. At the same time—this being the century of unparalleled communications—the volume of literature on each conflict attests to the fervor with which both scholars and participants rush into print, as if eager to immortalize their analyses whether or not these have contributed to a solution. The Arab-Israeli dispute typifies these parallel points of view. Complex from its inception, defying solution after seventeen years of recriminations, it has inspired masses of propaganda with minuscule objectivity. As Earl Berger observes in his conclusion, "the possibilities for a settlement are unlikely to improve for some considerable time . . . the new generation of Arabs and Israeli . . . is even more extreme and uncompromising than the old. . . ."

Under such circumstances the appearance of a volume that combines sound scholarship with an objective, impartial presentation of both the Arab and the Israeli "cases" for ownership of Palestine is most welcome. Wisely, Berger limits his study to the 1948-1956 phase of the conflict. Following a brief introduction, he surveys the General Armistice Agreements signed between Israel and the Arab states (exclusive of Iraq) in 1949. The records of the various Mixed Armistice commissions serve as the basis for his documented report on Israel-Jordan, Israel-Syria, and Israel-Egypt border relationships for the period in question. (The text of the Israel-Lebanon GAA is the only one reproduced in the book, however.) Brief disquisitions on the refugee problem, the Arab blockade, the Johnston Plan for diversion of the Jordan waters, and the maneuverings of 1956 which resulted in the Israel invasion of Sinai, complete the study; regrettably, it ends in mid-air with the Anglo-French ultimatum to Egypt of November 1956. An even briefer conclusion summarizes events up to 1965 and gives the previously mentioned negative assessment of the chances for a final settlement.

Within its arbitrary limits, and owing largely to Berger's dispassionate rendering of the statements, and actions, of both sides, the book has definite merit as a basic text on the first stage of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Inevitably there are questionable interpretations and some minor errors of fact. Berger makes the common mistake of expecting miracles from the UNTSO and the Conciliation Commission for Palestine. Operating under directives for strict neutrality from the Secretariat, the UNTSO commanders served acceptably and achieved periodic reduction of tensions. To ascribe a bias to any of them begs the question. Also Bunche was effective not only because of his own skills but also because of the attitude of the contestants; by the time the CCP arrived this had shifted nearly 180 degrees.

In sum this is a useful book which, with supplementing, should enrich our understanding of recent Middle Eastern history.

American University

WILLIAM SPENCER

Africa

SLATIN PASHA. By *Richard Hill*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. vii, 163. \$4.00.)

ALTHOUGH the extraordinary adventures of Slatin Pasha in the wild lands beyond the Aswan reach are well known, his critical role in the making of the modern Sudan has not been generally appreciated. In this perceptive biography Richard Hill has corrected this imbalance. Born in Vienna in 1857, Rudolf Slatin visited Egypt and the Sudan in 1874 where in Khartoum he met Eduard Schnitzer, the famous Emin Pasha who was on his way to join Gordon in Equatoria. Slatin liked the Sudan and asked Emin to recommend him to Gordon. Four years passed, but Gordon did not forget. In July 1878 Slatin was invited to join the Sudan government, and upon completing his military service in Austria, he arrived in Khartoum to begin his long association with the Sudan that did not end until 1914. In 1881 Slatin was appointed governor of Darfur where he tried to stem the tide of Mahdism, failed, turned Muslim, and surrendered to the Mahdists. Thereafter, he was servant, slave, and adviser to the Mahdi's successor, the Khal-

ifa 'Abd Allahi, until his escape from Omdurman to Egypt in 1895. At this point Slatin entered history. Although his dramatic flight and subsequent best seller, *Fire and Sword in the Sudan*, made him a romantic and dashing figure to be cultivated by the great and the near great, his place in history was more firmly fixed by his important role in the conquest of the Sudan and its administration under the Condominium. In constant attendance on the Khalifa during his captivity, Slatin was privy to the innermost secrets of the Mahdist state which, after his flight to Egypt, were promptly placed at the disposal of the Director of Military Intelligence, Colonel Reginald Wingate. The plans of the Anglo-Egyptian conquest were based in no small degree upon Slatin's experience with the Mahdiya. This same knowledge soon proved even more valuable to the newly created Sudan administration. As inspector general of the Sudan he became the *éminence grise* behind the governor-general, Sir Reginald Wingate. Slatin supplied the information, Wingate the policy, and together they fashioned the direction and spirit of the Anglo-Egyptian administration in the Sudan. This professional association was accompanied by an equally deep personal attachment. To Slatin, Wingate was his dear friend Rex. To Wingate, Slatin was good old Rowdy. Slatin repaid Wingate's friendship by introducing him to the great social spas of Europe. Wingate responded to Slatin's loyalty by presenting him to English society. This happy and halcyon relationship came abruptly to an end in 1914 when Slatin, torn between his love for the British in the Sudan and his Austrian homeland, resigned from the Sudanese service and devoted himself to the work of the International Red Cross.

Hill has composed an exciting biography from difficult and disparate sources. His life of Slatin is not simply the result of diligent work in private papers or Sudanese archives, but more the product of a wide knowledge of the Sudan and its rulers, which few but the *doyen* of Sudanese studies could hope to muster. Refusing to indulge in idle speculation about the Slatin myths on the one hand, the author has restrained himself from heaping anecdote upon anecdote on the other. This may make Slatin less attractive but not less true. His discussion of Slatin's acceptance of Islam and his opportunistic reconversion to Christianity is prudent and sensible. Hill is at his best when describing Slatin as inspector general and at his weakest when dealing with the formative years of Slatin's captivity. The romantic might grumble for more imaginative exposition, the historian for more detailed interpretation of the administration that Slatin guided. But in spite of such peripheral defects, Slatin has been portrayed as he was—a charming and delightful man whose unique knowledge of the Sudan and its people coincided with the Anglo-Egyptian conquest to provide that fascinating personality a place in history. Slatin deserved no less.

University of California, Santa Barbara

ROBERT O. COLLINS

EGYPT'S STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE. By *Mahmud Y. Zayid*. (Beirut: Khayats. 1965. Pp. x, 258. \$6.00.)

THE day when modern Middle Eastern historical studies are written exclusively from European sources is fast coming to a close. This work is a case in point; it draws heavily from Arabic sources to supplement the more traditional European works. The combination is quite satisfactory, for it adds new dimensions and

increased understanding of developments taking place within an Arab country itself and among its political figures.

The title may be somewhat deceiving. The book does not deal with the last two decades of Egyptian history, as the title might suggest, but rather with the history of Anglo-Egyptian relations from 1882 to the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936. The heart of the book is the background to treaty making in 1936. Here the use of Arabic sources, primarily in the form of memoirs of Egyptian politicians (archives are still closed for this period), is immensely rewarding. It has been generally thought that the Italian war in Ethiopia led to the treaty of 1936. The author does not deny the importance of this event. Italian activities in East Africa were a catalyst to political negotiations in Egypt. The author does, however, show that the Egyptians were not particularly afraid of Italian ambitions in the eastern Mediterranean and the Red Sea, as many have argued. What worried them and made them responsive to British demands for a treaty was their fear that if there should be a war, Egypt, without a treaty, would be dealt with in the same heavy-handed and arbitrary fashion as it had been between 1914 and 1918. Egyptian political leaders felt that their relations with Britain must be improved. By the same token, the British were concerned about growing international tensions. They wanted an Egypt free of constant political turmoil; hence the treaty of 1936 which abolished the capitulations in Egypt, restricted British troops to the canal zone, and admitted Egypt to the League of Nations. Somewhat less satisfactory are the earlier sections of the book, which deal with the British occupation of Egypt from 1882 to 1914, Egypt during the war, and the revolution of 1919. They are not based so extensively on Arabic and English primary sources. It is regrettable that the author did not consult Robinson's and Gallagher's important work, *Africa and the Victorians*, while discussing the British invasion of Egypt and the early years of occupation.

Princeton University

ROBERT L. TIGNOR

TUNISIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE: THE DYNAMICS OF ONE-PARTY GOVERNMENT. By *Clement Henry Moore*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 230. \$6.00.)

THIS monograph, a revised doctoral dissertation written under the direction of Professors Rupert Emerson and Carl J. Friedrich, stakes out a number of fascinating targets. The author is interested in the politics of modernization based upon a single mass party, and he sees Tunisia as the first African state to consolidate this political form. He is equally testing the hypothesis that the mass party regime "might more effectively than the nominal single-party type meet the challenges of social and economic modernization without precluding the development of constitutional democracy." Further, he wants to know how the Tunisian political system recruits a political elite, educates the people, represents their opinions, and integrates the new nation. He is also trying to draw distinctions between permissive mass party regimes and Neo-Leninist regimes and to determine which way Tunisia moves.

Seven chapters shoot at these targets by studying closely questions of consensus, leader, party and government, local politics, national organizations (trade-union and students' union), and the consultative process. Each chapter is based

upon interviews, books, periodicals, and the press. Some chapters taper off around 1961, but are updated by footnotes; others run to 1964. Possibly their nature or the availability of material, or even the author's organization, or the fact that this is a revised doctoral dissertation explain some chronological unevenness. In any case, they are all reasonably written, and the technical language of the political science seminar is made clear.

A nine-page conclusion points out the paradox of the permissive regime: "no institution may develop while the leader, to maintain his supremacy, fragments any countervailing centers of power." The leader is forever balancing the forces, which prevents the creation of institutions that could keep the system open and lead toward democratic procedures by stabilizing the factions. Thus the constant question: "After Bourguiba, what?" A similar query is frequently asked as far from Africa as France, Spain, and Portugal. Clement Moore thinks that Tunisia's permissive system may be incorporating "some of the virtues" of Neo-Leninist mass party regimes. He carefully notes that it is too early to judge Tunisia's modernization program, but he does find the regime to be adaptable. Still the future of the mass party regime is constantly running against the succession problem. Moore makes the interesting observation that only Mexico of the one-party states to date has resolved the question, by limiting the presidency to one term and aided by the fact that the factions agreed to allow orderly power transfers. On its side, Tunisia is unique in the Maghrib in having the Neo Destour which for thirty years evolved toward consensus. Even so, the future with, or without, Bourguiba is unpredictable. The forces and personalities at work can be clearly understood through the reading of this excellent book.

Oakland University

RICHARD M. BRACE

THE ZAMBESI DOCTORS: DAVID LIVINGSTONE'S LETTERS TO JOHN KIRK, 1858: 1872. Edited, with an introduction by R. Foskett. (Edinburgh: University Press; distrib. by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1964. Pp. 187. \$4.75.)

LIVINGSTONE and his African travels had a profound impact on nineteenth-century Britain. His life, and more especially the circumstances of his death in Central Africa, inspired a host of Europeans, missionaries and others, to penetrate the African interior to carry on his effort to bring Western Christian civilization to its inhabitants. Livingstone, while in Africa, was an untiring writer, both of journals and letters. In recent years I. Schapera has edited with great skill several of these journals. Now R. Foskett has added Livingstone's letters to John Kirk, his companion during the 1858-1863 explorations of the Zambezi and Lake Nyasa, and later the dominant British official in Zanzibar. The letters included were written during the years between 1858 and 1872; they deal with the Zambezi expedition, with Livingstone's stay at the Webb estate in Britain while he wrote the *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and Its Tributaries*, with a brief visit to India in 1866, and with Livingstone's last venture into Central Africa.

Much in the letters is already known through R. Coupland's *Kirk on the Zambesi* and *Livingstone's Last Journals*. Still, it is useful to have the letters collected under one cover. The editing, unfortunately, does not match the careful work of Schapera. Identifications of individuals are often sketchy and are at times wrong:

Dr. Wilhelm Peters appears confused with Dr. Carl Peters; Musa, a messenger to Ujiji for Livingstone, is confused with the well-known Musa, from the Comoro Islands, whose false story of Livingstone's murder in Africa caused a sensation in Europe.

Despite these faults, however, Livingstone comes through clearly, as always, in his letters. What better illustration of the thinking of men of his age is available than this statement: "We come among them [the Africans] as members of a superior race, and servants of a Government that desires to elevate the more degraded portions of the human family." But whatever his reasons, Livingstone gave his life for Africans in a manner that shaped the history of their continent. The letters in *The Zambesi Doctors* are valuable for the understanding they provide of this process of change.

Boston University

NORMAN R. BENNETT

HUGGINS OF RHODESIA: THE MAN AND HIS COUNTRY. By L. H. Gann and M. Gelfand. (London: George Allen and Unwin; distrib. by Soccer Associates, New Rochelle, N. Y. 1964. Pp. 285. \$11.00.)

It is interesting to note that four doctors have helped make recent Central African history: Dr. David Livingstone who opened the partly closed door in darkest Africa; Dr. Leander Starr Jameson whose blunder on the Jameson Raid almost lost for Cecil John Rhodes his doorway to Central Africa; Dr. Godfrey Martin Huggins who helped cut an "Africans Only" hatchway on the Central African door; and Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda who helped blow the imperialist door off its hinges.

Huggins, now Lord Malvern, held a prime ministership longer than any other British leader in history, twenty years in Southern Rhodesia (1933-1953) and three years in the ill-fated Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1953-1956), which was dissolved at the end of 1963. Born in England in 1883, he barely made the medical profession as an apprentice at St. Thomas' where he qualified in 1906. In 1911 he accepted a junior post under two physicians in dusty Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, where physicians were few and fees were high. As a surgeon he built up an admiring clientele and basked in the acceptance accorded a professional man in a frontier society. He accepted the Rhodesians' faith in empire and the belief that theirs was a white man's country. He sided with those who wanted to unite with the Union of South Africa and stood as candidate for Salisbury North. As a legislative backbencher he learned the political arts. It was Prime Minister Howard Moffat's mildly liberal African attitude and his failure to pull the country out of the depression that paved the way for Huggins' long tenure as Prime Minister.

This is a sympathetic biography. Based on apparently new archival sources, there is no doubt that the biography is historically accurate. But the interpretation of the South-Central African scene is conservative. The authors speculate that Pan-Africanism, like Pan-Slavism, may yet lose its political impact, that independent African nations may yet further Balkanize themselves, and that in time "Old Huggy" may after all be seen as a better judge of Africa's needs than his critics allege. Huggins did well by his white constituents. He attacked the common voters roll and outflanked it by raising franchise qualifications. He tried,

unsuccessfully, to reduce Britain's protective powers over African rights, and he generally advanced Europeans' economic and political interests. Amalgamation of Rhodesia with Europeans in the northern territories under a vaguely defined partnership concept was his ultimate weapon to offset liberal opposition from without and African national explosions from within. Whether or not Huggins would have been more conciliatory than was Sir Roy Welensky, his successor as federal Prime Minister, is problematical. It is unfortunate that Huggins will be remembered for his public statement comparing the partnership between European and African to that of rider and horse. But Huggins lived to see a profound change in the rules of the game.

This biography, like Welensky's recent autobiography, provides interesting background for the final scene now being played in Rhodesia as Huggins' forces take their stand on unilateral independence from Britain.

University of Oklahoma

FRANKLIN PARKER

PLANTAGENET IN SOUTH AFRICA: LORD CHARLES SOMERSET.

By *Anthony Kendal Millar*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 293. \$5.30.)

LORD Charles Somerset is one of the villains of South African history, a figure like Lord Milner about whom both Afrikaner nationalist and liberal historians can agree. As governor of Cape Colony from 1814 to 1827 he faced many problems, some of them the aftermath of a great war: rapid change in the composition of white society, clashes with African tribes on the "turbulent frontier," the emergence of missionaries as an active force in policy making both in Cape Town and in London, and the adoption of policies of Anglicization by the imperial government. In standard works such as Eric A. Walker's *A History of Southern Africa* (1957) and Volume VIII of *The Cambridge History of the British Empire* (rev. ed, 1963)—neither of them used by Mr. Millar—Somerset receives harsh treatment on many issues. An examination of the plentiful primary material available in England and in South Africa, which forced a modification of this verdict, would be valuable indeed.

Unfortunately Millar's attractively printed and illustrated book is of little value to scholars. It is undocumented, annoyingly innocent of precise dating of events, and often irrelevant. In an attempt to rehabilitate his subject Millar makes uncritical use of accounts in contemporary newspapers, then far more given to scurrilous combinations of reporting and comment than later in the century.

This work shows, quite unintentionally on the part of the author, the consequences of using important colonial governorships as convenient posts for the younger sons of powerful men. Somerset had the interests of his class—horse breeding, racing, and farming. He took an interest in the education of the Dutch and in the provision of adequately trained ministers for the Dutch Reformed Church, much in the style of an improving landlord. But his personal qualities added, quite unnecessarily, to the number of those who opposed him. He was a poor judge of men, often unable to distinguish between the claims of family loyalty and public duty, and suspicious of subordinates. He also lacked experience and ability. In this book the material from his dispatches gives no evidence that his

autocratic temperament was matched by powers of analysis and persuasion equal to his task. It has yet to be demonstrated that Lord Charles has been wronged.

Wesleyan University

JEFFREY BUTLER

JOURNAL OF RESIDENCE IN AFRICA, 1842-1853. Volume I, 1842-1849; Volume II, 1850-1853. By *Thomas Baines*. Edited, with introduction, notes and map, by *R. F. Kennedy*. [Publication Numbers 42 and 45.] (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society. 1961; 1964. Pp. xix, 252; xi, 355.)

A DETAILED account of South African frontier life between 1842 and 1853 by the famous explorer-painter Thomas Baines, the *Journal of Residence in Africa* is a competently edited piece of work, furnished with explanatory footnotes, pleasing illustrations, a good index, and well-drawn maps. The editor has chosen a now somewhat outdated method of presentation: he has corrected spelling errors in the original, except in the case of place names and tribal names; he has supplied his own punctuation; and he has broken the original text into paragraphs. This kind of editing is likely to meet disapproval from purists. The *Report on Historical Editing*, published in 1923 on behalf of the Conference of Anglo-American Historians, insists that the original should be followed in every respect and that all editorial changes should be indicated in the text. This editorial method is now in general use at archival institutions. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that Mr. Kennedy's procedure does at any time do violence to the original.

The publication of Baines's *Journal* raises, however, the more general question whether such works merit the effort and expense of printing. Baines was not a good stylist; he was untutored, spelled badly, and knew nothing of syntax. Few readers will peruse his work for pleasure. The journals serve a useful purpose in elucidating Baines's pictures and in proving, for instance, that all his paintings describing the "War of the Axe" were works of the imagination—he had painted most of them before he had seen the Eastern Province. They also give a useful picture of life on the frontier. But this seems an inadequate justification for a work of two volumes. In my opinion, the historically minded public would have been better served by an extended article in a good academic journal summarizing Baines's journals and elucidating their significance for the period. The journals themselves could have been microfilmed and thereby made available for specialists elsewhere. Librarians nowadays bemoan the glut of antiquarian publications, not only in the field of Africana, but also in that of Americana. Future editors might be wiser to aim at being selective rather than comprehensive in their approach.

Hoover Institution

PETER DUIGNAN

WHITE LAAGER: THE RISE OF AFRIKANER NATIONALISM. By *William Henry Vatcher, Jr.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1965. Pp. x, 309. \$6.95.)

THOUGH well written, this book reveals nothing new to workers in South African history. Indeed, the subtitle is misleading because there is little history of Afrikaner nationalism but much on its contemporary manifestations, where the familiar route from *Broederbond* through the FAK, NRK *Volks*, and the rest of the *ware Afrikaner* gambit gives the impression of almost frenzied activity to un-

dergird Afrikanerism in all its nuances. The reader may wonder why all this hard work is necessary; Alice may be running frantically with the Red Queen.

Interestingly, the author does not accept the view of most contemporary Afrikaner historians that Afrikaner nationalism is a product of the first annexation of the Transvaal; instead he selects the date of World War I. A good case is made for this point of departure, and the subsequent detailing of events is excellently and swiftly made. However, I think that Vatcher gives too much credit for the nationalistic effort to the *Broederbond*, which is once more "exposed." From direct observation, I believe that most Afrikaners, like most people, devote their main effort to earning a living. There is a quality of artificiality in a nationalism whose supporters must engage in such frenzied activity to maintain it. While the effort has paid off handsomely for Nationalist party politicians, they may have thrown everything away by achieving the republic, which Hertzog, Malan, and Strydom always avoided reaching. The entrance of English into the party must dilute political Afrikanerism, and, with it, much else hitherto considered uniquely Afrikaner. Afrikaner intellectuals themselves are now wondering whether the gain of the republic may merely have enhanced the brevity of European rule in South Africa.

There are a few serious errors. Paul Kruger was no more at Vereeniging than the English minority is more liberal in racial attitudes than Afrikaners. Once "home" blew with "the winds of change," English South Africans lost much of their emotion about Queen and Commonwealth. Nor is apartheid uniquely Nationalist. Every South African regime since Van Riebeeck and his wild orange hedge has made it official policy, subject to its being trampled by European demands for land and labor, and, now, markets. The discussion on the Verwoerd withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth omits the crucial fact that, while the United Kingdom was prepared to placate African and Asian members at the Commonwealth Conference, it could not perform this function after Prime Minister Diefenbaker of Canada, in cold disapproval of South African racial policies, threw the weight of the premier Dominion against membership for the republic.

Finally, a matter on which assuredly the author protested vainly, but one where protests are so often necessary today, publishers should put footnotes at the foot of pages—not in the rear of a book.

University of Southern California

COLIN RHYS LOVELL

Asia and the East

THE CHRONICLE OF THE THREE KINGDOMS (220–265): CHAPTERS 69–78 FROM THE TZŪ CHIH T'UNG CHIEN OF SSU-MA KUANG (1019–1086). Translated and annotated by *Achilles Fang*. Volume II. Edited by *Bernard S. Solomon*. [Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, Number 6.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 693.)

THE *Tzū-chih T'ung-chien* was regarded for nearly nine centuries as the greatest synoptic chronicle in the Chinese historiographical tradition. In its original form and in a variety of abridgments it was probably more influential than any other work in shaping, generation after generation, the Chinese view of their own past. More than this, it served as a model for later historians; it was believed to offer

norms for style and organization, for historical method and the exercise of historical judgment. It is thus one of the fundamental texts for the understanding of the civilization of premodern China.

Although it has been used as a source by numerous Western scholars, studies of Ssu-ma Kuang's historiography have been few and slight. Some years ago Dr. Fang began to subject ten chapters to detailed analysis. These chapters deal with the period of political breakdown following the fall of the Han—a period that was a particular challenge to Ssu-ma Kuang's powers of organization and judgment. This new volume in the same format as Volume I (1952) completes the analysis and provides a full index to both volumes.

The author's objective was to trace the source of every statement in Ssu-ma Kuang's account of the period A.D. 220–265 to determine how he chose between conflicting sources, how he abridged longer accounts that appeared in his sources, when and how he introduced shifts of emphasis or stylistic changes. Fang has been resourceful and successful in his search for the passages used and for the reasons behind the choices made. The result is something like a visit to the great historian's workroom where he labored to condense the massive draft prepared under his direction by his staff.

As we are shown how Ssu-ma Kuang worked, we become more acutely conscious of questions of his motivation, his values, and his guiding ideas. Fang is not greatly interested in such questions, but his study will be invaluable to the scholar who may eventually probe them. In the translations and in the notes Fang stays close to his avowed objective: *Quellenforschung*. He warned the reader in the translator's preface to Volume I that any information his study contributed to the history of the period would be incidental. It would indeed be difficult for anyone but specialists to follow the history as it is unfolded in this translation. Titles, place names, palace names, foreign words, and many other terms are reproduced only in Romanization; place names are not located, so that one cannot follow the course of the military campaigns that crowd these pages. Since Fang was in pursuit of the origins of words, phrases, sentences, and paragraphs, the translation had to be kept extremely literal; this has the inevitable but unhappy consequence of reducing the style and the pace of Ssu-ma Kuang's chronicle to a dull, monotonous, philological drone. But within the precise limits he defined for this study, Fang has been notably successful, and his book is important for the view it offers of the technical and editorial processes involved in writing a Chinese historical masterpiece.

Yale University

ARTHUR F. WRIGHT

IN SEARCH OF WEALTH AND POWER: YEN FU AND THE WEST. By Benjamin Schwartz. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. xx, 298. \$5.95.)

THIS is the story of a Chinese intellectual's love affair with Victorian England. Yen Fu (1853–1921) was born in the coastal province of Fukien and was one of the first Chinese boys to enter Foochow Shipyard School, where he chose navigation and English language as his fields of study. For five years he worked his way through arithmetic to trigonometry, physics, mechanics, and chemistry, graduating with high honors. After a shakedown cruise he was selected to study in England.

Yen Fu studied naval science at Greenwich and Portsmouth, but his real education came from travel in England and on the Continent, friendships and conversation with British intellectuals, and voracious reading of British and French "classics" on sociology, evolution, and intellectual history. As he traveled, talked, and read, he pondered the questions: "What is the secret of Great Britain's wealth and power?" and "Why is China growing poorer and weaker?"

After he returned to China, he taught science and mathematics as part of the popular "self-strengthening" movement sponsored by Chinese liberals who sought salvation through factories, steamships, railways, and telegraphs. But Yen Fu gradually became convinced that it was China's mind and thought that had to be changed. His reading of Herbert Spencer's *Study of Sociology* was a "major event in his intellectual life." It convinced him that Confucianism had condemned China to "social harmony at a low level" and constituted a major obstacle to China's progress. He saw in Spencer's optimistic view of dynamism, progress, and evolution the real secret of Victorian England's success in becoming the richest and most powerful nation on earth. He equated the theory of evolution with progress to refute China's idealization of the past and despair of the future. The difference between East and West lay not merely in weapons and technology but in "an entirely different vision of reality."

Despite his bold rejection of Confucianism and Chinese tradition, Yen Fu was more intellectual reformer than political revolutionary, and he saw China's salvation in terms of re-education and reorientation of its elite, scholar-official class.

Yen Fu set out to do this by publishing an ardent interpolation, in the form of a translation, of Spencer's *Study of Sociology*, followed by translations of Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics*, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Mill's *On Liberty*, Darwin's *Origin of Species*, and Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws*. These were published in classical Chinese and influenced a whole generation of Chinese intellectuals. They represent Yen Fu's attempt to align Chinese thinking and philosophy with science and progress and ultimately to restore China to "wealth and power."

Yen Fu's image of Western enlightenment was shattered by the fratricidal slaughter of World War I. Disillusioned, he withdrew to the hills of his native Fukien and looked for solace in Taoism and Confucianism.

In this sympathetic and scholarly treatment of Yen Fu, Professor Schwartz has provided a whole new dimension of China's response to the West and an intellectual background for its struggle for modernization. It provides a healthy antidote to our academic preoccupation with the "self-strengtheners." This fascinating book is, in my opinion, a major contribution to modern Chinese studies.

University of Colorado

EARL SWISHER

INTRODUCTION AUX ÉTUDES D'HISTOIRE CONTEMPORAINE DE CHINE, 1898-1949. By *Jean Chesneaux* and *John Lust*. [Maison des Sciences de l'Homme. Matériaux pour l'étude de l'Extrême-Orient moderne et contemporain, Travaux, Number 2.] (Paris: Mouton. 1964. Pp. 148.)

THIS is a well-informed and stimulating survey of research aids, basic works, research problems, and resources on Chinese history from 1898 to 1949. The present state of research is laid out both by periods (reform and revolution, 1898-1912,

Yuan and the warlords, the May Fourth movement, KMT and CCP, 1920-1937, the Japanese war and KMT debacle, 1937-1949) and by problem areas (economic history, social history, politics and ideologies in various aspects, political organization with law and administration, military history, regional and local history, biography, and international relations). Under each topic major monographs and source materials now available and major questions still awaiting research are indicated. In the course of this survey the authors make good use of available bibliographies; while some 230 principal publications are cited directly, principal archives are described, and libraries and research centers are listed in all the pertinent languages or countries around the world.

This discriminating bird's-eye view is especially valuable for Americans because, while well informed on recent American work, it also reflects research interests current in China, the USSR, and Europe, including Marxist concerns as well as others. Most important, the volume is problem oriented. It overflows with live and challenging questions, themes to be explored, approaches that are needed. Professor Chesneaux is in the Sixth Section of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* in Paris; John Lust is in the School of Oriental and African Studies in London.

The chief dish missing from this feast is a close look at the foreign establishment which had become part of the Chinese scene and a concern for Western and Japanese influences on China's development. For example, the missionary movement and its influence on social reform, education, medicine, rural reconstruction, and the rise of nationalism seem neglected, although there is some attention to treaty port exploitation. "International Relations" come last of all, in salutary contrast to most Western approaches; by American standards they will seem comparatively undernoticed. But this "Sinocentric" balance will make the volume all the more useful as a much-needed stimulant to American researchers.

Harvard University

JOHN K. FAIRBANK

A HISTORY OF THE CHINA INTERNATIONAL FAMINE RELIEF COMMISSION. By *Andrew James Nathan*. [Harvard East Asian Monographs, Number 17.] (Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1965. Pp. 106.)

FOUNDED in 1921, the China International Famine Relief Commission represented a Sino-Western effort to attack one of China's oldest and most devastating problems. From its inception the CIFRC also sought the removal or correction of those economic and social conditions that made famine possible. Its ultimate concern being nothing short of China's economic modernization, during its fifteen or so years of existence it took an active part in the rural credit cooperative movement, motor road construction, irrigation, and various other kinds of water control projects, in addition to famine relief itself. The organization was financed by the Chinese government, the general public, and American gifts. Though at times it worked closely with the national and provincial governments, it was a private philanthropic endeavor with personnel drawn largely from the American-educated, English-speaking fringe of Chinese society and, on the Western side, missionaries, YMCA workers, and lay experts.

Andrew James Nathan's pioneering study of the CIFRC points to one of the gaping holes in our knowledge of twentieth-century Chinese history. The piecemeal approach to modernization represented by the CIFRC and like organizations and their general character as privately operated, missionary influenced, joint Sino-Western (chiefly American) endeavors seem oddly irrelevant when seen from the vantage point of the present. Given the magnitude of China's problems, the temptation is strong to infer that this irrelevance was true of the twenties and thirties as well, and perhaps this is one reason why so little serious attention has been devoted to the history of philanthropy in Republican China.

Based almost entirely on foreign sources, more often than not the publications of the CIFRC itself, Nathan's monograph provides a useful microscopic profile of the CIFRC from the inside looking out—its organization, personnel, finances, policies, activities. The whole question of relevance, however, tends to be slighted. One gets little sense of what the commission's accomplishments were in terms of the totality of China's needs, where it stood in comparison with other organizations engaged in similar activities, or how it was viewed by the Chinese themselves. The author rightly does not regard it as his function to "pass judgment" on the value of the work done by the commission, but a fuller assessment of the significance of this work—its possibilities and limitations—in the Chinese context of the day might have resulted in a stronger, more imaginative piece of writing.

Wellesley College

PAUL A. COHEN

THE LEDO ROAD: GENERAL JOSEPH W. STILWELL'S HIGHWAY TO CHINA. By *Leslie Anders*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 255. \$5.95.)

WHEN Japanese troops occupied Burma in early 1942, they effectively cut the last overland supply route to China. American efforts to airlift goods and equipment over the Himalayan Hump to the beleaguered Chinese were less than satisfactory. Late that year, then, United States Army Engineers supported by Chinese labor began to construct a road from Ledo, at the end of the rail line in northeast India, to a point on the old Burma Road just short of the Chinese border. Building the Ledo Road, or the Stilwell Road as it was later officially named, was one of the greatest engineering feats of World War II. It was accomplished in two years of incredibly difficult work despite the obstacles imposed by steaming, unmapped jungles, rugged mountains and deep gorges, monsoons, disease, leeches, equipment shortages, and boredom—not to mention British opposition to the whole idea and the ever-present danger of Japanese attack. Even before it reached its projected terminus, the road proved a valuable supply route. And its total contribution to the China-Burma campaign more than repaid the investment of men, equipment, and time that went into it.

A formal history of the Ledo Road has not been published before, and this excellent small volume is thus a welcome addition to the growing list of studies on aspects of the war with Japan. Its author is well qualified to treat his subject, having served at one time as an official historian with the US Army Engineers, thereby acquiring a love and understanding of some of the less glamorous necessities of military operations. Basing his account primarily on the voluminous official records and on personal interviews and correspondence, he has compiled what

must certainly remain as the definitive history of this huge undertaking. If anything, his well-documented narrative is too detailed for the average reader, perhaps even for the military specialist. But then, Anders writes well, and the book makes for pleasant and interesting reading. It is most valuable as a reliable source of material on operations in Burma and on the problems of military engineering in general.

Industrial College of the Armed Forces

STANLEY L. FALK

OKUBO TOSHIMICHI: THE BISMARCK OF JAPAN. By *Masakazu Iwata*. [Publication of the Center for Japanese and Korean Studies.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 376. \$7.00.)

HISTORIANS have customarily bestowed the eulogistic appellation "the Bismarck of Japan" upon Ito Hirobumi, framer of the Meiji Constitution and an architect of the modern Japanese state. Professor Iwata, however, does not subscribe to this opinion. He prefers to grant the accolade to Okubo Toshimichi, a member of the select group that spearheaded the revolt against the Tokugawa shogunate in 1868 and thereafter helped to construct the foundations of the Meiji oligarchic regime. Iwata's claims on behalf of Okubo are presented in his study of the samurai-statesman from Satsuma han.

There is little doubt that the author has probed deeply into the furies of political struggle and intrigue culminating in the downfall of Japan's last and greatest military dynasty. His sketch of the background of the Meiji Restoration, which is all too often drawn in either grossly oversimplified or hopelessly confused terms, is on the whole tenable. But for all of Iwata's exploitation of the standard source materials and his searching historical analysis, it is debatable whether he has produced a satisfactory biography. Okubo merely flits through this study like a shadow. Little is contributed on his childhood and early adult years, on the formation of his character and personality, and on the development of his thought. It is difficult to determine from Iwata's book how Okubo differed, if at all, from numerous other politically ambitious samurai of the times. To some extent Okubo, in this study, makes his appearance on the grand stage of the Restoration as a *deus ex machina*. Once Iwata has brought the subject of his biography to the forefront of the new national politics of Japan, he then devotes the major portion of the volume to an examination of the final decade of Okubo's relatively brief life. Despite the fact that this period in Okubo's career is copiously documented, he remains an enigma in Iwata's study.

It is hard to understand the basis of the power and influence of the oligarch. He was, to be sure, tough, wily, and ruthless, but there was certainly no dearth of politicians with such qualities in the inner circle of Meiji governmental life. Moreover, Iwata does not make it adequately clear how the former samurai developed his social, economic, and political ideas, which reveal a far broader exposure to Western thought and statecraft than is implied. Whatever Okubo's inspirations may have been, it is evident from this study that in the formulation of many major policies and in the promotion of administrative and technological innovation during the first decade of the Meiji era the fine and occasionally heavy hand of Okubo may be seen. That he overshadowed his fellow oligarchs to the extent that Iwata maintains is debatable. From the evidence presented in this biography

it may be concluded that this vital question is still open. Further study of the interrelationships of the early Meiji oligarchs is patently needed. And until such time as it is possible to determine more precisely Okubo's place in the government and political system of the Japanese regime of his times, it would be premature to transfer the epithet "Bismarck of Japan" from Ito to the oligarch from Satsuma.

Brooklyn College

HYMAN KUBLIN

CHANGING JAPANESE ATTITUDES TOWARD MODERNIZATION.

By *Robert N. Bellah et al.* Edited by *Marius B. Jansen*. [Studies in the Modernization of Japan, Number 1.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 546. \$9.00.)

THE publication of this study is significant for several reasons. It is the first of a series of five volumes on five different aspects of this modernization process, which resulted from the formation of the Conference in Modern History. Furthermore, this and succeeding volumes are, in a real sense, an indication of how far Japanese studies have advanced in the United States. This analysis by fourteen authorities on how a traditional society reacts to the sudden impact from the West and the resulting modernization is a significant contribution to intellectual history in general and to Japanese history in particular. Finally, the volume indicates that the Japanese experiences during the past century are rich in suggestions for contemporary emerging nations that are just starting on their modern adventure.

The approaches used in this volume to attack the modernization process were largely determined at a binational preliminary conference held in Japan in the summer of 1960. At that time, as John W. Hall, chairman of the conference, points out in the introductory chapter, it was impossible to reach consensus on a comprehensive definition of "modernization." It was agreed, however, that the authors should concentrate their attention on the process and observe the sequences in that process out of which some pattern might emerge. Subsequently it was decided to tackle first the problem of the changing attitudes of the Japanese toward their modernization in the past century. Marius Jansen, as editor of the volume and author of a chapter on changing attitudes, and his colleagues have largely concentrated on an analysis of how certain groups of individuals reacted to modernization. The results of these analyses are interesting and provocative and, in many cases, unexpected. In the analysis by R. P. Dore of the legacy of education prior to the imperial Restoration of 1868, it is clear that the Confucian base of this education created in the minds of the modern reformers a positive attitude toward new knowledge. It gave them the rudiment of political science that was essential if the new government were to be successful.

The perceptive study by Donald Shivley of Nishimura Shigeki, a nineteenth-century Confucian scholar and official, is particularly revealing. Unlike many of his contemporaries and colleagues, he insisted that Japan's aim of enriching the country and strengthening its arms could best be achieved through gaining greatness like America and the strength of England and France. In another Asian cultural context, as described by Stephen N. Hay, this attitude was even more pronounced in Rammonhun Roy, the eminent political and intellectual leader in India in the early nineteenth century who believed that "the foreign yoke would lead most speedily and surely to the amelioration [modernization] of native inhabitants."

In the concluding section on "New Values and Old," two main points stand out. The first is the importance of the life of the independent Christian, Uchimura Kanzo, whose conscience made him refuse in 1891 to pay obeisance publicly to the emperor's portrait. The second is the emergence of a new type of contemporary Japanese intellectual as illustrated by Ienaga Saburo. In "Ienaga Saburo and the Search for Meaning in Modern Japan," Robert N. Bellah has made an excellent analysis of the ideas of this brilliant postwar Japanese intellectual. He follows Ienaga's progress through the development of a "Logic of Negation" grounded in Neo-Kantianism and the history of Japanese Buddhist thought, his study of the Meiji leaders to determine their reaction to Westernization, and his present interest in the reform of social institutions. Significantly, Ienaga's ideal is Uchimura.

The concluding chapter is an attempt by Professor Masao Maruyama to offer a new conceptual scheme for the relation between the modernization process and the predominant types of political and social responses.

These are only half the subjects covered by the fourteen eminent authors in this intensely interesting volume. Individually and collectively, these scholars have added new material pertinent to the modernization process. It bodes well for the contents of the four volumes yet to appear under the same auspices.

Haverford College

HUGH BORTON

MINOBE TATSUKICHI: INTERPRETER OF CONSTITUTIONALISM IN JAPAN. By *Frank O. Miller*. [Publication of the Center for Japanese and Korean Studies.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 392. \$7.50.)

AN increasing amount of valuable material has appeared recently on Japan's prewar and postwar constitutions and government. This book, as the first study in a Western language of the writings and chief events in the life of Minobe Tatsukichi (1873-1948) is an important addition to that list. Professor Minobe, and hence Professor Miller's study of him, is especially important both in terms of the political history and the history of political thought of modern Japan because of Minobe's interpretations of the Imperial Constitution which he believed would strengthen representative and responsible government. He thus became a main antagonist of the nationalists and militarists.

Minobe's consuming interest was constitutional law, and so this work is largely an analysis of the main themes in his most important writings and the effect these had on Japan and on him personally. Miller has divided his book into three main categories: Minobe's professional and public career before 1934, his methodology and general theory of law and state, and the application of these theories to the constitution and prewar politics. In his teaching and writing he maintained that a monarch's natural will does not directly constitute the will of the state; hence the monarch is an organ of the state. In his *Essentials of the Constitution* he applied this "organic theory" and his other constitutional theories to Japanese constitutional practices. This approach brought him in direct conflict with the "historical school" of constitutional lawyers who maintained that by his doctrine he had violated the principles and essence of Japanese nationalism known as national polity. The more widely his theories became accepted, the more open he was to attack. The advocates of Japanese expansionism could not tolerate a philosophy that claimed the emperor was a mere functionary of the state and

insisted that the government proclaim that this theory was wrong and contrary to the fundamental principle of national polity. They took steps to see that it was eradicated.

Miller's detailed account of what befell Minobe in 1934 is eloquent evidence of the power and influence of the Rightists and militarists in prewar Japan and a sobering example of how they used the weaknesses of the governmental structure to their advantage. The Ministers of War and Navy, Rightist members of the Imperial Diet, ultranationalists and the minority political party attacked Minobe publicly and in the Diet and accused him of lese majesty. The cabinet was forced to repudiate his organic theory, and he avoided a treason trial by resignation from the House of Peers and all other positions. The cabinet saved itself by ordering the banning of his chief works.

The most fascinating aspect of this exhaustive, carefully documented, and important, though somewhat ponderous, study is that it reveals Minobe as a product of his time and culture and a victim of his own blindness to the fundamental weaknesses of the constitution under which he lived. He fervently believed that a reform of the methods of operating the government, rather than basic changes in the constitution itself, would bring about the representative, responsible government he desired. In fact he insisted until almost the very end that the old, un-amended constitution would be best for postwar Japan.

Haverford College

HUGH BORTON

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN POLITY. By *H. N. Sinha*. (New York: Asia Publishing House; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1963. Pp. xv, 589. \$16.50.)

THE increasing number of works on aspects of Indian polity is a welcome indication of the growing scholarly interest in the subject. Ever since the discovery of the *Arthashastra* in 1915 the vast mass of literature in Sanskrit has been subjected to critical analysis yielding a rich corpus of ideas and information on the theory and practice of statecraft in ancient India. In recent years students of Indo-Islamic polity have made valuable additions to the existing literature on the general subject of the development of political institutions in India. The time now seems to have arrived to treat the subject in its historical context covering the entire range of Indian history of some three thousand years before the establishment of the British Empire. Dr. Sinha's book is such an attempt.

The work is in two parts: Part One is concerned with political ideas and institutions in ancient India; Part Two deals with an analysis of Islamic political thought as it developed in the Indian environment. The central point of reference is the institution of kingship, its origins and functions, power and limitations to that power. The content of sovereignty is closely analyzed in its historical evolution, with special attention to kingship in relation to religion and as a secular institution. A useful aspect of the treatment is the attention given to the background of historical events against which institutions are meaningfully discussed. In the second part the principal aim is to assess the influence of Islam and Indian conditions on the development of the state systems created under the sultanates and the Moguls. There are detailed descriptions of administrative institutions in Indo-Islamic polity; students of Indian polity will find this part very useful.

The wide range of sources used reflects the author's erudition and diligence. The documentation is admirably detailed, though in the second part reliance seems to be placed on translations and secondary sources. The two parts differ significantly from each other in their intrinsic value. The first has many valuable insights, though the author's interpretation of some key terms is open to serious dissent. Adequate attention to and analysis of Buddhistic and Jainistic materials would have altered the interpretations of many aspects of ancient Indian polity as presented in this volume.

Almost the entire text of the first part was first published in 1938 under the title *Sovereignty in Ancient Indian Polity* and is now reproduced without the slightest reference to the considerable research done since. The bibliography, in its major parts, indicates neither the date nor the place of publication of the works cited, and the index is so inadequate as to be of little assistance. The price is exorbitant.

To present the long history of Indian polity in a single volume is an ambitious undertaking. Sinha has done his task with commendable dedication, and the volume will prove useful to students of the subject as a convenient reference work.

Wake Forest College

B. G. GOKHALE

MUSLIM COMMUNITIES IN GUJARAT: PRELIMINARY STUDIES IN THEIR HISTORY AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. By *Satish C. Misra*. [Department of History, the M. S. University of Baroda.] (New York: Asia Publishing House; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1964. Pp. xvi, 207. \$7.75.)

THIS is a stimulating and instructive book in a field where historians and social scientists need further prodding and instruction. Whether one chooses to call it anthropological history or historical anthropology, it is a modestly but precisely defined pioneering attempt, a pilot survey and analysis of data drawn from hitherto untapped vernacular resources, printed, manuscript, and oral. Not satisfied merely with presenting another virtually static analysis of social organization, the author countersinks his inquiries into time, thereby seeking to add historical dimension. His quest for socioanthropological answers delves into the details and dynamics of origin and development.

Of the book's three parts, the first and third are its most interesting and profitable. Part One traces the history of Muslim communities to the fifteenth century and then proceeds with fascinating accounts of the two branches of Ismailism. Part Two contains an uneven and indiscriminate listing (if not lumping) of communities: occupational, ethnic, regional, castes, and sects. Admittedly classification is difficult since splinter groups tend to become endogamous, regardless of the basis of their origin. But an ethnological enumeration that does not even alphabetize, much less classify, its sixty-nine entries is hardly imaginative. Part Three is in many ways the most exciting, for it analyzes the social organization, spacing, and mobility of Muslim communities in this century. In the Redfield tradition, Misra attempts to adapt and relate the Great and the Little Tradition. His treatment of self-governing institutions, especially the transition of the *Jama'tbandi* from punitive to welfare functions, his discussion of family relationships, especially laws on marriage and succession, and his work on processes of change, es-

pecially the interlocking aspects of Islamization, Westernization, and modernization, deserves serious attention, not so much for originality of thought as for adaptation to new and complex data.

The author is almost too painfully aware of the inadequacies and shortcomings of his study. Yet, when the nature of his inquiries and findings is compared with the dry and dreary wastes of so much past work on this subject, his contribution is refreshing. What is more important, his detached and balanced contribution serves to introduce and to show how much more can be done. It is a pity that the publishers could not have emulated his quality in their craft and his modesty in their price, which is outrageous.

University of Wisconsin

ROBERT ERIC FRYKENBERG

THEORIES OF THE INDIAN MUTINY (1857-59): A STUDY OF THE VIEWS OF AN EMINENT HISTORIAN ON THE SUBJECT. By *Sashi Bhusan Chaudhuri*. (Calcutta: World Press Private. 1965. Pp. xiii, 207. Rs. 15.)

THE centenary of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-1858 has produced a rash of books representing contesting versions of that conflict. At times the patient reader feels that the passions stirred up in the Mutiny could have been little worse than those now being nurtured among embattled scholars and authors. One wonders whether the polemic is contributing to enlightenment.

S. B. Chaudhuri is by now well known to Mutiny buffs as one of the more strident apologists for the view that the Mutiny was much more than a mutiny. While he at times seems to recoil from calling it the "First War of Indian Independence," his book *Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutiny* (1957) made it clear that he holds the rebellion of the populace to have been more significant than the uprising of sepoy troops.

Meanwhile, the *doyen* of contemporary Indian historians, R. C. Majumdar, has produced his own definitive statement of the Mutiny in the ninth volume of *The History and Culture of the Indian People* (1963). Majumdar has trampled upon several of the pet theories of Chaudhuri, and this book is Chaudhuri's rejoinder to the critique leveled by Majumdar. I am tempted to call it a draw.

A good part of the problem seems to me to be that the antagonists are trying to outdo one another. Chaudhuri marshals what seems to be impressive evidence of popular rebellion; in fact, he gives in endless detail the reports of civilians in arms. But endless repetition does not make civilians in arms into a war of national independence. From Chaudhuri's viewpoint popular involvement is sufficient to prove the case, while Majumdar asks for more.

By concentrating attention on those persons and those localities in which rebellion can be discerned, Chaudhuri gives an impression that the popular character of the rebellion was more widespread than in fact it was. By concentrating on the mutinous sepoys, Majumdar gives the impression that rebellion was trivial or nonexistent. Both viewpoints seem to me to beg the question. The real issue is: can we fruitfully extend to 1857, regardless of the character of the turmoil, ideas of nationalism that seem not to have existed in any meaningful sense at that point in time? Chaudhuri's book certainly fails to convince me that it is wise to make such an attempt.

Duke University

ROBERT I. CRANE

BRITISH DOMINION IN INDIA AND AFTER. By V. B. Kulkarni. (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. 1964. Pp. ix, 452. Rs. 20.)

ADVENT OF INDEPENDENCE. By A. K. Majumdar. With a foreword by K. M. Munshi. (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. 1963. Pp. xvii, 427. Rs. 20.)

BOTH these works have forewords by K. M. Munshi who has intimately known the chief actors on the Indian political scene since 1914. The latter work is far more important to the informed reader than the former. Neither is well suited to the needs of the uninformed foreign reader approaching the subject for the first time. The most valuable part of Mr. Kulkarni's book is the second half which may be described as a perceptive essay on Indian affairs since independence by a journalist with exceptional opportunities and contacts who does not hesitate to place praise and blame where he thinks they belong. The discussion of economic planning is the best part of this essay, which was not put into its final form until after Nehru's death. In the preceding chapters, Kulkarni gives his reflections on the British period of Indian history in two hundred pages. He is at his best in assessing the merits and defects of British rule, but he is not a good guide for the uninitiated. He allows his emotions free rein far too often, as in the discussion of the India Act of 1935 and of the Black Hole of Calcutta, which, in the light of the careful investigations by Brijen K. Gupta, can no longer be called an "impudent myth." He writes vividly, but the value of his work lies primarily within the time of which he has some personal knowledge.

Dr. Majumdar's work deserves the attention of every student of the background of India's partition. It contains one hundred pages of documents, several never previously published, and most not conveniently available elsewhere, and is designed as a political introduction to two forthcoming volumes of "Indian Constitutional Documents (Munshi Papers)." Here are printed précis of Munshi's conversations with Lord Linlithgow and Munshi's long and cogent assessment of Indian affairs at the time of the fall of France in 1940, along with numerous excerpts from other documents going back into the nineteenth century. Majumdar's introduction begins with the Indian Councils Act of 1861, but really considers in detail only the period since 1919. He naturally stresses the points in the story which, now, with the benefit of hindsight, seem tragic: Jinnah's estrangement from Gandhi over the meaning of *swaraj* in 1920, Linlithgow's ineptitude in dealing with the Princes in 1937, the resignation of Congress ministries in 1939, the rejection of the Cripps Offer. For the most part, this is done with due regard to the fact that the participants in these events had no knowledge of the future. Nevertheless, Majumdar attributes to individuals and groups a consistency of purpose that hardly seems justified. He points out an increasing identity in interest and opinion between officials and nonofficials and coins a new term for them—"Anglo-indians"—to distinguish them from Anglo-Indians (Eurasians), but this leaves his readers with the impression of a massive monolithic group unchanging through decades, an overstatement of the case. There is also a tendency to attribute more single-mindedness to Jinnah from the 1920's than the evidence appears to warrant. Majumdar's most serious omission would seem to be a lack of attention to the role of Muslims within the Congress. Hardly anyone other than Azad is mentioned, and there is no adequate assessment of their role as a whole either in the early period or in the 1930's and 1940's. Majumdar has made a most

significant contribution to the literature on the origins of the partition of the Indian subcontinent; other equally valuable volumes must appear before the historians of a later generation can embark on more definitive work. A second edition when the two volumes of documents appear would give Majumdar an opportunity to eliminate repetitive passages and those where references to current events in India and Pakistan interrupt the continuity of the historical narrative.

University of Pennsylvania

HOLDEN FURBER

SOCIAL POLICY AND MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS IN CEYLON, 1840-1855. By *K. M. de Silva*. [Imperial Studies Series, Number 26.] (London: Longmans for the Royal Commonwealth Society. 1965. Pp. viii, 318. 45s.)

DURING the brief period covered by this monograph British policy in Ceylon was dominated by laissez-faire economics and evangelical Christianity. Officially the British government gave active support and encouragement to various private missionary organizations that had established missions in the island in the early part of the century, although the degree of support varied at different times and in accordance with variations in personnel and policies.

On the whole, as this study demonstrates, "Missionary societies in Ceylon, unlike their contemporaries in India, concentrated their energies on the process of conversion alone, and were rarely interested in social reform for its own sake." They were most active in the field of education, primarily because they regarded education as the path to conversion. They were influential in forcing the government to dissociate itself from its connection with Buddhism, but on other major issues of the day, including such important questions as caste, slavery, the aborigines (the Veddas), and the immigration of Indian plantation labor to Ceylon, they were ineffectual and for the most part silent. Fortunately, this study contains separate chapters on all of these issues, even though the role of the missionary organizations in relation to them was peripheral.

"Despite these shortcomings," according to the author, the missionary organizations "brought a new vigour and vitality to the solution of some of the social problems of their day." This interesting statement is made in the final paragraph of the book and, unlike the well-documented conclusion that these organizations "seldom interested themselves in a social problem if it was not likely to bring rich dividends in converts," is completely unsubstantiated. If it could be documented, it would give a better balance to a treatment that in its present form makes a damning case against missionary organizations, but not against all missionaries, for a narrowness of vision and a relative indifference to social reform matched only by their confidence and complacency.

This study gives as much attention to British colonial policy in Ceylon as to the work of missionary organizations, but only three personalities stand out above the mass of careful documentation: James Stephen, the formidable Permanent Undersecretary in the Colonial Office; Sir James Emerson-Tennent, Colonial Secretary of the Ceylon government from 1845 to 1850; and the Reverend D. J. Gogerly, chairman of the Ceylon Wesleyan Mission, who dominated the School Commission.

Originally a doctoral thesis at the University of London, this study, in revised

form, was selected by the Royal Commonwealth Society for publication in its "Imperial Studies Series." Within its self-imposed limitations of time and scope, it is a distinguished work of scholarship.

University of Pennsylvania

NORMAN D. PALMER

BUREAUCRATIC TRANSITION IN MALAYA. By *Robert O. Tilman*.
[Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center Publication Number 21.]
(Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press for the Center. 1964. Pp. xii, 175.
\$6.50.)

PROFESSOR Tilman's study should perhaps best be compared with S. W. Jones's *Public Administration in Malaya* (1953), which covers much of the same ground for an earlier period. Its valuable statistical data alone will compare favorably with Jones's work and with many other studies on the civil service of newly emerging countries.

The author briefly retraces the cultural background of Malaya, since some understanding of it is essential to the comprehension of the present administrative system and its strengths and its weaknesses; he then briskly moves to the colonial bureaucracy, whose influence to this day gives form and shape to the Malaysian administration. In sheer size, Tilman finds it (with about eighty thousand employees in 1961, including state and federal) far smaller in proportion than that of most countries, although "many Malaysians view the size of the bureaucratic apparatus with some alarm."

As he examines the present practices of the Malayan Civil Service and the Malayan Administrative Service, the author finds them, on the whole, far better than most postcolonial organizations of the same type, but also beset by the same essential narrow-mindedness that plagues other such organizations inherited from a colonial power: "In more narrow terms both services exhibit considerable conservatism in adhering to colonial practices that may no longer seem applicable and in any case may never have been so sacrosanct as they are now regarded." Such a situation, if allowed to continue unchecked, may well result in the kind of formalistic sclerosis that will drive away from government recruitment—particularly in a country such as Malaysia where excellent opportunities for economic and social advancement also exist outside government service—precisely those elements which it may most need to overcome the period of upheaval and readjustment that surely lies ahead for the whole country. But for now, as Tilman notes in his conclusion, "the system is still working [and] effectively serving the present ends of society." And, one may add, it is doing so with a minimum of oppressiveness, which is saying much these days.

Howard University

BERNARD B. FALL

BETWEEN TWO EMPIRES: THE ORDEAL OF THE PHILIPPINES, 1929–1946. By *Theodore Friend*. [Yale Historical Publications, Studies, Number 22.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1965. Pp. xviii, 312. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Friend's careful study reveals the agonizing, often tragic, dilemmas that confronted Filipino leaders trapped between the conflicting interests of America and Japan. The volume is not social history. Juan de la Cruz, the

proverbial man in the street, or the rice paddy, is ignored. The text concentrates instead on statecraft in Manila, Washington, and Tokyo. The message, however, is clear. Errors at the apex of the body politic bring misery to most of the human beings who occupy the base.

In conducting his research, Friend blazed a Herculean trail through the still largely untracked wilderness of Philippine documentation. Based almost exclusively on manuscript and archival material, supplemented by interviews with the principal actors in the drama, the book contains many fresh interpretations and reinterpretations of recent Philippine history. The judicious discussion of sources constitutes a valuable contribution in its own right, which will prove useful to Southeast Asian specialists.

The account begins with a provocative section on the context of Philippine politics, which avoids the cultural projections that lure many Americans into tangential analyses. Friend recognizes that Filipinos sought two attributes above all others in their leaders: "charisma and consanguinity." The prominent politician "cherished in his friends not their principles but their proximity; he valued them less for their convictions than for their affections." This familial framework spun a web of delicacy over insular politics. Ordinary political intercourse "was inclined against decision and for equilibrium."

At one point during the period of extreme stress between 1929 and 1946, the all-pervasive sensitivity broke down. During the complex maneuvering to achieve an independence act, Manuel Quezon, Sergio Oxmeña, and Manuel Roxas became involved in direct, sometimes vitriolic, conflict. Friend's analysis of the struggle, together with its reverberations on Capitol Hill, is excellent history full of insight into the political realities of Filipinos. He also shatters the widely held belief that Philippine independence resulted solely from United States economic interests by demonstrating that the "anti-imperialist principle" directed congressional action more than parochial inclinations. In his discussion of the Commonwealth, Friend resurrects the unsettling international implications of the Philippine-American experiment. The Dutch, for example, regarded Quezon as "more subversive . . . than Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin rolled into one."

Four-fifths of the study deals with the years between 1929 and 1941; the last portion ventures into the treacherous historical shoals of World War II and its aftermath. Friend does not maintain that his effort here is definitive. He has, nevertheless, reconnoitered such subjects as the complex collaboration issue, which deserve detached analysis. He neither absolves nor damns members of the "puppet regime." Instead, he attempts to bring forth the motives that drove individuals to controversial action. He concludes that Filipinos "bargained as sharply with their conquerors as the circumstances permitted, and earned regard among the Japanese as the most recalcitrant government in the Southern Area."

If the book has an Achilles' heel, it lies in the inadequate treatment accorded Japanese aspirations and policies. Friend recognizes this weakness by admitting that his study is perhaps "an account of stress upon Philippine and American policy in time of danger from Japan." He need not apologize. He deserves praise for a thoroughly researched and well-written volume.

Muskingum College

DAVID R. STURTEVANT

THE SQUATTING AGE IN AUSTRALIA, 1835-1847. By *Stephen H. Roberts*. (2d ed.; [Parkville:] Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 378. \$9.50.)

THIS extremely important book, first published thirty years ago, has long been out of print. At the time it represented a milestone in Australian research and writing. Professor Roberts' main premise is that land settlement is a key factor in Australian development. His dynamic account of the life of the early pastoralists reports their impressions of political, economic, and social events in New South Wales. In his 1935 preface Roberts clearly views his book as "a preliminary monograph on a neglected period in Australian history, and of necessity suffers from the faults of pioneering." Nevertheless he vividly answers the questions: How did the squatters live? What did they think of themselves?

His new preface says that the text has been retained in the original form, except for the elimination of errors (unfortunately not all of them) and obvious correction of misprints. The bibliography has been expanded and updated and the maps beautifully redrawn by Miss Joyce Wood. Roberts also rather adamantly observes in his new preface: "Nothing has occurred in the intervening three decades to make me change the original thesis, . . ." although the decades have produced sharp critical comment, for example, Ken Buckley's two articles "Gipps and the Graziers of New South Wales, 1841-46," in *Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand*, VI (May 1955), VII (May 1956), and Barrie Dyster's article "Support for the Squatters, 1844," in the *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, LI (Mar. 1965). Roberts should have modified his text. He should also have corrected some faulty characterizations of such great personalities as Gipps, Wentworth, and Lowe. Certainly he should have corrected some of his footnotes which, to scholars in the field, are plainly inaccurate. He might even have toned down some of his purple prose.

Despite this, the book remains a landmark in Australian historiography, a stimulus and a challenge, and its descriptions of squatting life will probably never be surpassed. It was, he wrote, "a sordid, filthy existence, despite all the writers' eulogies of free life in contact with nature and communion with the gums. The only real contact was with a few degraded convicts—mad *hatters*—and the eternal smell of sheep effluvia. Its sole return was monetary; in itself, it was a penal servitude of the worst type—there is no romance in monotony and mutton fat."

University of California, Irvine

SAMUEL CLYDE McCULLOCH

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JOHN PRICE: A STUDY IN THE EXERCISE OF NAKED POWER. By *John Vincent Barry*. ([Parkville:] Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 204. \$9.50.)

JOHN Giles Price (1808-1857) emigrated to Australia in 1836, a young man of good family anxious to improve his fortune. He served successively as Mustermaster in the Convict Department of Van Diemen's Land, 1839-1846; as Civil Commandant of the penal settlement of Norfolk Island, 1846-1853; and, finally, as Inspector General of Penal Establishments in the newly created colony of Victoria from 1854 until he was attacked and beaten to death by a work gang of convicts in 1857. His

notoriety is firmly established in Australian legend as the exemplar of the harsh, sadistic prison commandant. The author of this study, Sir John Vincent Barry, is a judge of the Supreme Court of Victoria and also chairman of the department of criminology at the University of Melbourne.

The corrupting and debasing of the human personality that can result from the wielding of unrestrained power is a theme that has fascinated historians before and after it inspired Lord Acton's best-known dictum. Before a satisfactory study of the process can be undertaken, however, the scholar must have access to records that offer insights into the subject's mind: private letters or diaries of the subject or of someone close to him. No such material relating to Price has been uncovered. As a result, the author fails to provide us with significant fresh evidence to answer the questions he poses in his concluding chapter, "On Cruelty": "Why is it that man, alone among sentient beings, derives conscious satisfaction and enjoyment from performing and witnessing cruel acts? What are the physiological and psychological factors producing this uniquely human trait?" The reference to "physiological factors" suggests the inadequacy of available evidence. We learn that Price was ill when he was offered the appointment at Norfolk Island. His health deteriorated during his first years as Civil Commandant as the incidence of floggings increased. Yet the author admits that he can uncover no description of his symptoms.

Guided by the material available to him Barry writes around the topic suggested by the title. He gives us a clear account of the operation of the penal side of the convict system during its closing years in eastern Australia; an informed critique of the trial of those charged with Price's murder; and, throughout the book, an interesting example of the judge as historian, a refreshing change from the historian as judge. Barry assesses the credibility of his sources (often prejudiced witnesses such as convicts and officials dismissed by Price) as though he were on the bench, summing up the evidence. The three appendixes—full reprints of penal regulations in Van Diemen's Land and for the hulks in Victoria, and a critical essay with copious quotations on the convict, Henry Garrett's description of Price in his essay, "The Demon"—are of interest.

It is no bargain at the American price, but institutional purchasers by now should have become used to the high cost of Australian bookmaking.

University of Waterloo

K. A. MacKIRDY

Americas

AMERICAN STUDIES IN TRANSITION. Edited by *Marshall W. Fishwick*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1964. Pp. 329. \$7.50.)

To the traditional game of trying to define the nature of American culture a new dimension has been added in recent years: an earnest debate over the rules of the game itself. In the growth of what some of its practitioners insist on calling a "movement," scholars in American studies have expended almost as much energy in arguing methods and objectives as they have in research and writing. In this volume Marshall W. Fishwick has collected eighteen independent essays by scholars (three of them European) in various disciplines concerned with ways of un-

derstanding America, ways of teaching American studies, and ways American studies have impact abroad.

Unfortunately, the volume as a whole does not contribute significantly to our understanding; the cliché expert is too often at work. There are the familiar warnings against the "Balkanization" of scholarship; the ardent efforts to come to grips with the problem of Snow's "Two Cultures" (five essays allude to Sir Charles!); the insistence on the importance of the concept of culture (as if there were ready agreement on what constitutes a culture); the criticism of the limitations of "traditional" history; the plea for some attempt to treat "the whole culture" and the hunger for some grand synthesis; the suggestion that comparative cultural studies are vital to eliminate the "ethnocentric error"; the repeated urgings to study physical remains as well as literary ones in order to develop visual experiences as well as verbal ones. Contributors fight straw men and produce commonplaces; the essays themselves reveal that much of what is passionately advocated has become acceptable procedure (even for some historians). Further, methodological conclusions, supposedly derived from pretentious and dubious metaphysical, epistemological, and ethical arguments or by analogies from the physical and biological sciences, are often in fact commonsensical.

Even more bothersome is the strong hortatory tone of several of the essays. The sense of mission crucially shapes many arguments. There is a call for the "American Studies Movement" to prepare the way for a "qualitative revolution" in our culture (Patrick D. Hazard); the "logical insinuation" into materials for study of attitudes, values, and concepts to give "direction and purpose to national endeavor and involve the individual citizen in it" (Robert J. Cooke); the use of students of American studies as "agents of our foreign service," explaining our virtues to achieve "respect" for the United States (Richard B. Davis); the establishment of the essential function of American scholarship as the production of a "class of political leaders and high officials spread over the entire free world who speak the same intellectual language, have similar moral character, and share a common loyalty" (Ludwig Borinski). Even if such objectives were generally accepted as desirable, they would clearly create serious intellectual and moral problems for the scholar. Meanwhile, such statements add considerably to our doubts and critical caution about much that goes on under the banner of American studies.

The volume does provide some rewards. Sigmund Diamond's elegant essay on history and the social sciences makes no extravagant claims and offers valuable suggestions. John Ashmead's curious survey of style in the arts from realism to modernism is frequently suggestive. Brooke Hindle's discussion of the relationship between science and technology and American studies might serve as a useful, if elementary, introduction to the field for the general American historian. Davis' survey of foreign responses to and uses of our literature offers interesting perspectives. Harry C. Allen, in the only real work of scholarship in the volume, provides a starting point for an analysis of American Anglophobia and Anglophilia. And Roy Nichols constructively plots the way out of pessimism for those worried about the future of history as a discipline. The main value of the volume, however, lies primarily in the occasional insight (often as an aside) about our culture, the occasional criticism of previous work in the area (like Henry Waser's shrewd evaluation of Trilling and the cultural critics), the occasional ques-

tion raised in the reader's mind about his own study of and teaching about America.

Rutgers University

WARREN I. SUSMAN

THE MYTH OF THE 'NEW HISTORY': THE TECHNIQUES AND TACTICS OF THE NEW MYTHOLOGISTS OF AMERICAN HISTORY. By David L. Hoggan. (Nutley, N. J.: Craig Press. 1965. Pp. vi, 250. \$4.50.)

THIS "Study Guide" to war guilt revisionism and the world Communist danger indicts the liberals, internationalists, Anglophiles, and anti-Christian intellectuals who allegedly dominate the writing of history. Instead of the critique of the New History promised by the title there is only a short chapter on James Harvey Robinson, who was "intensely anti-Christian" as evidenced by his admiration for the Enlightenment, Darwin, Marx, Freud, the perfectibility of man doctrine, and internationalism.

Dr. Hoggan analyzes eight crises to illuminate the record of a saving remnant of "positive" revisionists who still love the isolationism of the Farewell Address, point out the crimes of perfidious Albion, and "praise the return to normalcy of the Harding administration." They deplore the cold war generated by Truman and his successors "as an adventure at the behest of the United Nations, an organization which they regard more as a threat to American sovereignty than as a contribution to genuine international conciliation."

While disavowing "any special solicitude" for the Nazis, he argues as he did in a previous book that Hitler was "the victim of an English Tory conspiracy in September, 1939. . . . Halifax conducted a single-minded campaign to plunge Germany into war, and in such a way as to make Germany appear to be the guilty party." He speaks of Hitler's "preventive war" against Russia, his reluctance to rearm or to fight England and France, and his immunity from any desire for world domination, but his unfortunate financial conservatism hampered a belated rearmament while the Keynesian British (and later Keynesian Americans) out-produced the *Führer* on key aircraft and doomed "the grit and courage" of the German pilots. Poland gets its due for its provocative policies and evasion of negotiations, inspired of course by England.

Professionals are not apt to be overwhelmed by the author's analysis of the eight crises: the Revolution, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, the two world wars, and the Korean War. He finds congenial selections from historians to buttress his ideal of the "New Conservatism." Our historians, he complains, are "slow to grasp the central British role in bringing about either the Second World War or the Cold War." Too many adhere to the Anglophile version of the Revolution and the War of 1812 or the abolitionist prejudices against the South. He gives the *coup de grâce* to one misguided historian by revealing that he "was subsidized by Lawrence S. Finkelstein of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace." As with other old-time revisionists, he castigates Wilson's (and FDR's) motives for intervention, and in discussing the Spanish-American War adds a refreshing digression on Britain's wholesale slaughter of women and children in Boer concentration camps. In one of his numerous *ad hominem* attacks, he disposes of James T. Shotwell, "this son of the British Empire," who was decisively influenced by James Harvey Robinson, a man

"engaged constantly in attacking Christianity," and by the younger Charles Beard, who was then "mainly interested in attacking Capitalism."

It is scarcely necessary to refute Hoggan's angry charges against historians who do not share his views nor to evaluate his analyses that clearly stem from the revisionist hate campaign on liberalism. As this summary suggests, there is here a blend of the old theme of *Gott straf England*, Colonel McCormick's well-known characterizations, the strong aroma of Right-wing thought, all justified by the author's fear that we now lack "an adequate organization to deal with a possible subversive coup d'état at some moment of national crisis."

Western Reserve University

HARVEY WISH

SOUTHERN HISTORY IN THE MAKING: PIONEER HISTORIANS OF THE SOUTH. By *Wendell Holmes Stephenson*. ([Baton Rouge:] Louisiana State University Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 294. \$7.50.)

WENDELL Stephenson knows more about southern historiography than any other living man. From his ripe knowledge and varied experience he has written twelve essays on this subject, all of them previously published, except a study of William A. Dunning and a chapter entitled "Twenty-five Years of Southern Historical Writing." His favorite among the historians considered in this volume is William Garrott Brown, a master of style in the Parkman tradition. My choice, however, is the account of the southern liberal, John Spencer Bassett, based on the Bassett Papers in the Library of Congress. The salient weakness of the historians that Stephenson describes was not the weakness of American historians of today, who lack general culture and are narrow specialists. The main fault of the southern historians seems to have been their inability to take an outside view of their region. William P. Trent and Bassett were perhaps the most detached and objective of their generation. Trent wrote in 1891: "I cannot help smiling to think how thoroughly the tables would be turned if it were a Northern historian who should first give to the world a true and complete history of the Southern people." The limitations imposed on a southern historian of the past two generations are illustrated by Stephenson's account of U. B. Phillips' teacher at the University of Georgia, Dr. John McPherson. When the latter in 1891 introduced as the text for his class in American history Alexander Johnston's *United States; Its History and Constitution*, the newspapers of the state violently attacked it as containing "unsound doctrine." McPherson reported to Herbert Baxter Adams at Johns Hopkins that he considered himself to be a good southerner, but nevertheless he had stirred up "a regular hornet's nest" in seeking to present objective history.

This study of southern historiography emphasizes the importance of Adams at Johns Hopkins and Dunning at Columbia in training southern historians. A chapter on Thomas M. Owens of Alabama makes a valuable contribution to the history of the development of state archives and the collecting of manuscript sources below the Potomac. (Would that he had included also the story of Joseph G. de-Roulhac Hamilton's efforts at Chapel Hill.) It is interesting to note how the spirit of the New South affected the historians; the better ones were liberals of a southern type, such as Charles Ramsdell, "a conservative progressive." In a day of presentism and relativism in the interpretation of American history, Stephenson

keeps a sane balance and a true historical-mindedness, recognizing that the historical pendulum oscillates.

University of Kentucky

CLEMENT EATON

THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN ECONOMIC GROWTH, 1607-1861: AN ESSAY IN SOCIAL CAUSATION. By *Stuart Bruchey*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1965. Pp. xiii, 234. \$4.95.)

BRIEF, compact, and lucid, this essay is an exploration of economic growth extending from the foundation of the colonies to the Civil War. Its claims to originality are modest and relate solely to its character as a synthesis of well-known materials since it is largely a comment on, and a summing up of, the literature of American economic development. It reflects the prevailing latitudinarian view of economic growth by including cultural, sociological, and social data that within the last decade have gained increasing recognition as potent factors capable of advancing or retarding economic growth. It reflects, too, the large impact of the application of econometric techniques to economic history.

Bruchey has a hearty respect for the usefulness of these techniques, but warns against the failure to recognize their limitations. Oddly, in two instances, he relies on the weakest aspects of the work of two of the ablest practitioners of econometrics, Douglass C. North and Robert Fogel. To the former he turns for support on matters relating to intersectional trade and regional specialization, and to the latter he turns for data on economic development in the 1820's. These details, however, do not affect the validity of the author's larger contention; nor are they intended to reflect unfavorably on his general treatment of economic materials. On the contrary, his chapter on economic growth is a clear, useful, and concise introduction to what the fraternity of quantifiers have wrought, and where, indeed, they may have or are likely to distort.

If any single factor stands out as contributing most significantly to the development of industrialism, it was, according to Bruchey, the growth of the national market. Since state, local, and federal governments directly or indirectly assumed a large responsibility for internal improvements, Bruchey concludes that, ultimately, activity in the public sector emerges as the force that was especially conspicuous in contributing toward economic growth. Here some sharp definition and a modicum of quantification are in order, at least to determine what is actually meant by the term the "national market" that has gained such widespread usage in recent years. What is the national market? How is its identity established? When did it become a force in economic development? To what degree did it contribute to economic growth at any given time? These questions seem especially pertinent since they bear directly on Bruchey's final evaluation of the causal factors that contributed to economic growth.

Two chapters constitute almost one-quarter of the book and deal directly or indirectly with the role of government as related to economic growth. No doubt the movement for the Constitution, Morris' plans for development, Hamiltonian thought and action, public credit, assumption of state debts, the problems relating to the migration of foreign capital, and the "Hamiltonian" aspects of Jeffersonian economics are related to Bruchey's fundamental interest in social causation. But to some degree it appears in connection with these matters and, indeed, with others throughout the essay that Bruchey's secondary objective, that is, to comment on

the literature of economic growth, obscures his theme of social causation, elicits more extensive treatment of some matters than is warranted under the circumstances, or draws him occasionally into observations that are not especially fundamental to his problem. Actually, this essay may also be read as an exercise in historiography; it is peppered with capsule summaries of how specific historians attack particular problems and the nature of the counterattacks of their critics. Usually Bruchey explains his stand. Sometimes, however, he is left standing in no man's land, given his predilection to move from positions of strength amply reinforced by the heavy artillery of established professionals.

This is a provocative essay, and those who have followed the recent literature of economic growth may challenge Bruchey's judgment on how some of the research of recent vintage ought to be assimilated into the larger and older body of economic history. Those familiar with the works of most of the historians cited here will find the essay useful and stimulating.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

NATHAN MILLER

LAW AND AUTHORITY IN COLONIAL AMERICA: SELECTED ESSAYS. Edited by *George Athan Billias*. (Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishers. 1965. Pp. xxi, 208. \$5.00.)

Six of these ten essays are carefully researched, monographic studies; the other four are briefer, less richly documented, interpretive pieces that attempt to re-think problems treated earlier by other scholars. In the second category Mark Howe argues vigorously that at the opening of the seventeenth century the complex organization of England's courts had produced great confusion as to what the law was. Advocates of reform sought, therefore, a new and simplified structuring of the court system. In Massachusetts Bay the Puritans achieved this unified condition rather quickly, for when common law, equity, admiralty, borough customs, and ecclesiastical law were all administered in one tribunal, the older distinctions lost much of their operative significance. In consequence the status of the common law was particularly diminished; to colonials it became a set of specific limitations on public power rather than a pervasive system of order.

Wilcomb Washburn, Clifford Shipton, and Darrett Rutman contribute essays on aspects of "authority" in Virginia and Massachusetts. Washburn suggests that "interpretations of the seventeenth-century legal culture of Virginia have been hampered . . . by the failure of historians to perceive the underlying shift from the values controlling law in a semi-feudal society to those supporting a semi-individualistic society." Shipton also finds an early emphasis upon individual worth among the Puritans, and gently, though not quite persuasively, rejects Perry Miller's understanding of a Puritan orthodoxy. Rutman offers yet another challenge to Miller's work, arguing that Cotton Mather has imposed upon modern scholars the unhistorical view that the sanctity of the founders gave way to hopeless declension in subsequent generations. Rutman urges as a corrective that closer attention be paid to the realities of Puritan society, particularly through examination of local sources.

Four of the six monographs also focus upon the Bay Colony. The longest, an institutional history of the Massachusetts vice-admiralty court by Kinvin Wroth, relates the political controversy aroused by the court's customs jurisdiction to the older dispute between admiralty and the common law. Wroth finds that the court

was not able to serve all the judicial needs of a maritime community and that the common-law courts filled the breach, trying many maritime cases in which jurisdiction was contested. Like Wroth, John Cushing and Hiller Zobel are also interested in the relationship between politics and legal institutions. Cushing describes efforts by the bench in revolutionary Massachusetts to influence or restrain the patriots' zeal, particularly through charges to grand juries. Zobel examines the administration of justice in the Bay Colony between 1769 and 1771 and finds it wanting, even by the most modest standards.

Beneath the broad and sometimes vague rubrics of "law and authority," there is throughout this volume considerable specific concern with the status of the common law in the colonies. This is especially true of George L. Haskins' case study of the Dower Act of 1647, of Herbert Johnson's paper on the advent of common law in New York (really an examination of the structure and jurisdiction of early courts there), and to a lesser extent of Joseph Smith's well-documented essay on the foundations of law in Maryland between 1634 and 1715.

Since most of the papers in this collection grew out of a conference held on the subject in April 1964, we might briefly have been given some of the comments made by observers and participants. Surely complete unanimity was not reached on the interpretive, historiographical, and legal issues discussed. Working definitions of authority are not easily achieved and clarified, least of all for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when both the secular and Christian concepts of authority underwent subtle changes. In consequence, for example, distinctions between public and private authority are sometimes blurred in these essays. It is hoped that future studies will continue to explore the complex relationship between law and authority in unstable colonial societies, for as Gershom Bulkeley complained soon after 1689: "they can punish us without authority, without law, and against it too."

Cornell University

MICHAEL G. KAMMEN

THE OLD DOMINION: ESSAYS FOR THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY.

Edited by *Darrett B. Rutman*. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1964. Pp. x, 200. \$5.00.)

THESE essays by Professor Abernethy's former students at the University of Virginia are fortunately more cohesive than the contents of many *Festschriften*. To be sure, in treating the common topic of Virginia during the colonial and early national periods the contributors discuss a variety of specific subjects. The eleven selections do, however, largely group themselves around two or three major themes. The greater number deal with the impact of the American Revolution both upon individuals and groups within Virginia and upon the whole society and economy of the state. In the former instance there are accounts of the decline in the fortunes of an important planter-merchant family, the Nelsons; of the career of a somewhat neglected figure in Virginia political and military affairs, James Innes; of the fate of the Scottish mercantile community at Norfolk, possessed of strong Virginia ties but impelled toward loyalism and destruction after 1774; and of the contrasting responses to the Stamp Act of archpatriot Richard Henry Lee and suspected collaborationist Archibald Ritchie. The latter category includes an assessment of the high cost to the state of its inability to withstand British dep-

redations and a survey of the condition of the tobacco economy in the 1780's, at first prosperous and then sufficiently troubled perhaps to win Virginia to the federal Constitution.

The remaining essays are more scattered, but in one way or another they focus on questions of public policy. Three involve aspects of colonial affairs; one spans prerevolutionary and postrevolutionary periods by tracing the continuities in legislation for the inspection of imports between 1742 and 1820; and a concluding selection on the founding of the Virginia Historical Society in the 1830's comments upon a negative aspect of public policy, namely, the refusal of the state to assist the new historical organization and its consequent development as a private association.

All the authors have at the least produced useful surveys of their subjects, but the collection as a whole is frankly disappointing in the failure of some contributors to provide much by way of new evidence or new insight. Certainly there are exceptions. The editor's opening chapter on the military regime at Jamestown is, for example, a full re-examination of both the contemporary evidence and later historiography of a controversial phase of Virginia Company policy. Several essays point in varying degrees toward the possible rewards of probing more fully that unsuspected legacy of the Revolution in Virginia, the ironic decline of a social and political order that seemed to have won its greatest triumph in 1776. Emory G. Evans faces the matter directly in his account of the Nelsons, while Alan Schaffer opens up its economic aspect in describing the tobacco market during the Confederation. In her account of James Innes, Jane Carson furnishes concrete illustration for the point that Daniel Boorstin has made concerning the contributions and shortcomings of Virginia localism for the postrevolutionary era. Finally, William M. E. Rachal suggests how much a sense of decline and a desire to retrieve the "goodly heritage" of the state motivated the founders of the Virginia Historical Society. From such examples one can sense what could in the immediate future become an important direction in the writing of Virginia history.

College of William and Mary

THAD W. TATE

WINTHROP'S BOSTON: PORTRAIT OF A PURITAN TOWN, 1630-1649.

By Darrett B. Rutman. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1965. Pp. x, 324. \$7.50.)

WHAT did the founders of New England hope to achieve, and how did the result match the expectation? These are the questions to which the author addresses himself in this valuable study of Boston's first two decades. His answer to the first question is a little unusual. Taking John Winthrop's speech aboard the *Arbella* as a formulation of the founders' aims, Professor Rutman concludes that the object was a unified society, presumably a single community with a single town or city at its center, in which the inhabitants would be knit together as one man. They would eschew private gain for public good and love one another with a holy love. The ideal was social rather than ecclesiastical; the evils that bothered Winthrop in England were only in small measure connected with the church, and the first settlers had formulated their notions of the proper church of Christ only in a very general sense. What Winthrop hoped to achieve was a society free of selfishness, greed, and wickedness.

Because the ideal was formulated in such terms, the reader is scarcely sur-

prised to find that life in New England and especially in Boston did not live up to the expectation. The settlements from the beginning were dispersed into several towns or plantations. Partly as a result of this dispersal, a congregational form of church organization was adopted, thus promoting diversity in religion. Within the separate towns people were divided into church members and nonmembers, a distinction that was given political significance by confining freemanship (with political rights) to church members. In Boston during the 1630's an increasingly large group were simply "inhabitants," and in the 1640's a substantial portion of the population were sojourners, who did not seek even the formality of becoming inhabitants.

The New Englanders were not only divided; they were also individualistic and materialistic. Economic opportunities produced a rapid social mobility, and no one hesitated to climb the golden ladder. By the end of two decades it was impossible to recognize in Winthrop's Boston the kind of society that he had urged on his fellow passengers aboard the *Arbella*.

Rutman tells his story well and with a full command of the sources. He gives us details of Boston's early history that have not previously been known. The analysis of social groupings, church membership, and population growth will be useful to all students of early New England. My only regret is that the author has pursued what is essentially a literary device to a point where it seems to affect his assessment of the Puritans. In taking an exhortation as a statement of expectation and in using it as a reference point throughout the book, he inevitably makes Winthrop and the other founders appear more naïve than they were. And in the effort to show that church polity had not been worked out in advance, he seems to press the argument further than he perhaps intended and to make the first settlers less conversant with current ecclesiastical and theological problems than they were. This is nevertheless a provocative, well-informed, and thoughtful book.

Yale University

EDMUND S. MORGAN

THE LOWER CAPE FEAR IN COLONIAL DAYS. By *Lawrence Lee*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 334. \$6.00.)

THE lower Cape Fear, though late in being permanently settled by white men, developed rapidly in the half century before the Revolution. Its chief product came to be naval stores (of which it produced far more than any other British colonial region), especially tar and pitch, for which the British Empire badly needed a controlled source of supply. From the standpoint of the mother country the area fitted well into the British mercantilist system, though the local inhabitants were not happy under that system. More than in any other part of North Carolina, there developed a social and political structure based on large plantations, headed by a controlling group of gentlemen. Rivalry between the older town of Brunswick and the newer town of Wilmington embittered the period, resulting in the eventual complete victory of the latter. As friction with Britain increased, most leading citizens of the area openly and under arms opposed certain British measures, especially the Stamp Act. Later, when war came, the area according to the British plan was to be the focal point for conquest of the South, a plan frustrated by the Whig victory over the Tories at Moores Creek. Later Wilmington served as Cornwallis' base. The part of the lower Cape Fear in the Revolution deserves far more attention than it has received in general histories.

The volume includes backnotes, a bibliography, which would be more useful were it critical and divided into major classes of sources, and an index. Produced under the able supervision of Professor Hugh T. Lefler, and based not only upon thorough documentary research but also upon archaeological work at Brunswick Town, the work is the first scholarly, readable, well-rounded study to cover the field.

North Carolina Department of Archives and History CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THOSE WHO ATTENDED HARVARD COLLEGE IN THE CLASSES 1751-1755, WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER NOTES. By *Clifford K. Shipton*. [Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Volume XIII.] (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1965. Pp. 725. \$10.00.)

A BRITISH visitor once came to the Massachusetts Historical Society with a desire to consult with the staff that prepared "Sibley's Harvard Graduates" and was startled to discover that this remarkable work, far from being collaborative, was produced by a single scholar who is also Director of the American Antiquarian Society and Keeper of the Harvard University Archives. No one, even close friends, ever fathoms how Mr. Shipton does it, yet here is another volume of this massive dictionary of Massachusetts colonial biography, the tenth in thirty-two years. As always, the results of exhaustive research are presented, with deceptive effortlessness, in a literary style that can make even the pedestrian activities of inconspicuous country parsons seem of absorbing interest.

The present volume covers the classes of 1751 to 1755, of which John Adams and John Hancock were the most remarkable regular members, although in later years, upon receiving honorary degrees, Arthur Lee and the Chevalier de la Luzerne were placed in the class of 1752. Shipton observes that "John Hancock was unquestionably the most popular man who ever lived in New England, but by the time he died he was distrusted and disliked by almost every man in the ruling class." Certainly the account of his backing and filling in regard to the finances of Harvard College helps to explain why.

Shipton continues to provide unforgettable vignettes of the lives of obscure graduates, like the undergraduate incident when Ephraim Langdon (1752), later a Boston schoolmaster, was "degraded seven places for staying home from church in order to practice burglary and to sing a profane song in his chamber." And one enjoys the reminder given by the Reverend Moses Hemenway (1755), minister of Wells, "that ordaining a candidate was like introducing a cat into a new household where 'come pretty kitty' all too soon became 'scat, you bitch.'"

Boston Athenæum

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

GUNS AT THE FORKS. By *Walter O'Meara*. [The American Forts Series.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1965. Pp. xi, 273. \$6.95.)

THIS first volume in "The American Forts Series," edited by Stewart H. Holbrook, is a lively account of the fighting at the forks of the Ohio River between 1750 and 1760. Essentially, it is the story of Forts Duquesne and Pitt and the part they played in the French and Indian War, with intriguing bits of human in-

terest and some modern chamber of commerce comments about the city of Pittsburgh added.

Although the book does not add much in the way of new facts, its style and arrangement add zest and readership to old accounts, and the attractive, illustrated volume brings into new focus the historic events that were of international significance if small in scope. The author makes the most of the participation of young George Washington in delivering the ultimatum from Governor Dinwiddie of the Virginia colony, instructing the French to withdraw from the Ohio country. The book well appraises Washington as a man with "a strong sense of public duty and an unlimited capacity for punishment." Sometimes, however, the flavor of the moving account becomes that of a novel with a striving for the dramatic. Also, it would seem to be better to footnote the numerous and long quotations which often distract by their smaller type and indentation. Sweeping statements, such as "The world was rushing toward war and the most explosive spot on the globe now happened to be the Forks of the Ohio," may be open to question. But the narrative does move along vividly, and it is revealing to note how much a part the camp followers played, for instance, in the lack of progress of General Braddock's ill-fated expedition. How the British, trained in continental tactics, were surprised and routed by the French and Indians is retold in the most entertaining manner I have yet read. The author says it was not an ambush. If not, it certainly had all the bad consequences of one. Details of construction and drawings of the forts make this a valuable technical contribution. How Fort Duquesne was a battered bastion and how Fort Pitt was built so massively that it became a living symbol still, combine to make this volume a good beginning of the series.

New York University

NORTH CALLAHAN

BATTLE FOR A CONTINENT. By *Harrison Bird*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 376. \$6.75.)

Nor a reliable book by a responsible historian, this work tells the story of the French and Indian War in a purple prose style calculated to appeal to the popular market. Harrison Bird, past president of the Company of Military Collectors and Historians and author of two previous military histories, might be forgiven much in his attempt to make American history more exciting, but his tendency to add picturesque details that cannot be authenticated, to take liberties with the facts, and to rely upon outdated sources will prove disconcerting to professional historians. Many of them will also question sharply some of his generalizations because there is no documentation in footnote form.

Since Bird relied primarily upon older works, he has made errors of both fact and interpretation. A few examples will suffice to show what is meant. His figures on the French force at Fort Duquesne in early July 1755 are misleading; primary sources state there were some sixteen hundred men including regulars, Canadian militiamen, and Indians. Governor William Shirley did not "take for himself the field command of the expedition to capture Fort Niagara" in 1755; he was named to the post by General Braddock, who also made the governor second-in-command of the British forces in North America. And Thomas Pownall, according to his biographer, John A. Schutz, was not a member of the Johnson-DeLancey clique who plotted to bring down Governor Shirley in February 1756.

A glance at Bird's two-page bibliographical essay reveals one reason why some mistakes were made. There is no mention of Lawrence H. Gipson's monumental work, *The British Empire before the American Revolution*, which covers much the same ground; no reference to Stanley Pargellis' works *Lord Loudoun in North America* and *Military Affairs in North America*, which deal with important problems of command; no reference to Douglas S. Freeman's biography of George Washington and John A. Schutz's work on William Shirley, which both offer new viewpoints on the early years of the war; and no use of John R. Alden's *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier*, which covers Spain's participation in the conflict in this part of the world. Save for Charles P. Stacey's *Quebec, 1759: The Siege and the Battle* and John R. Cuneo's *Robert Rogers of the Rangers*, Bird makes no reference to recent books written on his subject.

Limited research, reliance upon older writers, and embellishments by the author make this study an undependable source for serious scholars.

Clark University

GEORGE ATHAN BILLIAS

THE SAN SABA MISSION: SPANISH PIVOT IN TEXAS. By Robert S. Weddle. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 238. \$5.00.)

THE search for buried treasure will never die; witness the present volume. Whether or not it was inspired by the perennial stories of "lost" mines near San Saba is conjectural, but the book ends on that well-known theme. And it is effective, too. J. Frank Dobie and many others mined the same ore, though the only ore that there was to mine was that produced by the skill of the writer.

This is not to say that the present study is without merit. The author, a talented writer, found himself in the historic swivel point on the Spanish frontier of Texas where the line of missionary penetration of central Texas ran up against a wily, resourceful, and numerous foe: the Plains Indians. This was the old presidio and mission of San Saba, established in 1757 near Menard, Texas (where the author is a journalist). Until then the pattern of Spanish expansion had been mission, presidio, and settlement, one following the other in quick succession, and it had been effective for centuries.

Time had run out, however. The establishment of Spanish missions and a presidio in central Texas marked not only the most distant advance of the Spanish frontier, but it came at the very end of its existence when the King could least afford the new expenditures involved. This is the author's theme. San Saba symbolizes the waning effort, the last attempt to control the Indians by the old and familiar mission system. Weddle describes effectively the San Saba scheme, the plan to advance the line of Spanish occupancy in Texas about a hundred miles beyond the San Antonio line, which represented the established frontier. He analyzes the plan, the establishment of the whole complex of presidio and mission, the changed conditions of the eighteenth century, the conflict with the Plains Indians (with French guns and good Spanish horses), the weakness of the Spanish administrative bureaucracy, victory of the Plains Indians, together with a brief account of the contagious and persistent effect of the legend of a "lost" mine in the vicinity of San Saba, a legend that finally led to settlement of the region by pioneers in the nineteenth century, and that still fascinates the gullible.

This study is well organized, based on the most recent monographs, and gives

a coherent tale of that spot in the Southwest that represented the key in an international struggle for mastery of the continent. While written in a popular, exciting vein, it is good history. It presents a comprehensive view of the northern Spanish frontier and its problems during its dying days.

University of California, Berkeley

GEORGE P. HAMMOND

JOHN MORGAN: CONTINENTAL DOCTOR. By *Whitfield J. Bell, Jr.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1965. Pp. 301. \$6.50.)

THIS first book-length biography is an excellent study of John Morgan (1735–1789), a pioneer in American medical education whose early promise was unfulfilled and whose achievements were blighted by overweening vanity. After a medical apprenticeship and frontier service as regimental surgeon during the French and Indian War, Morgan sought a medical education in Britain. In London he studied anatomy with Hunter, and he received his degree after two years at Edinburgh, then at the height of its renown. The grand tour preceded his return to America in 1765, laden with honors sedulously sought and filled with hope for reforming medical education and practice. His plans had developed from conversations among American students at Edinburgh. In announcing them he took full credit for himself, antagonizing especially William Shippen, Jr., who had preceded Morgan home and was already lecturing in anatomy. Thus began a feud that was to embitter Morgan's life.

Morgan believed medical education should follow liberal arts study and arranged his own appointment as the first professor in the medical department of the College of Philadelphia. The first M.D. degrees were granted in 1771, which marked "the coming of age of American medical education." In Morgan's inaugural discourse as professor, which Bell terms "the climax of his career," he also proposed that doctors should practice medicine, but not act as surgeons or apothecaries and that they should be accredited—in effect, licensed—by a medical society. But the times were not ripe for specialization or licensure: Morgan himself eventually dispensed drugs, and the medical society that he founded was refused a charter by the Pennsylvania proprietor. Even medical education suffered because of bickering between Morgan and Shippen.

In 1775 Morgan was appointed to organize the medical services of the Continental Army. "He brought considerable experience and keen intelligence, vision and great industry to problems that were vast and recurrent. They were also insoluble, and so his career ended prematurely in frustration and failure." Confusing directives from Congress were a major factor in Morgan's failure, but Morgan blamed Shippen, his successor. Relentlessly Morgan strove for vindication, which he won, and for the discrediting of Shippen, which he partially achieved. Morgan's postwar years were anticlimactic.

As biographer, Bell faced a difficult task, with a plenitude of polemical sources, a paucity of private papers. His evidence was gathered with diligence and imagination. His judgments are keen and fair. Morgan, with his strengths and weaknesses, emerges in the round. More than this, he is a man set superbly in his milieu. The nature of eighteenth-century medicine, European and American, emerges clearly, and the reader sees vividly the London, Edinburgh, and Philadelphia in which Morgan played his significant, though self-frustrated, role.

Emory University

JAMES HARVEY YOUNG

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE: THE GROWTH OF AN IDEA. A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL PAMPHLETS PRINTED BETWEEN 1764 AND 1776 DEALING WITH THE DISPUTE BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES. By *Thomas R. Adams*. [Brown University Bicentennial Publications, Studies in the Fields of General Scholarship.] (Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press. 1965. Pp. xxi, 200. \$8.00.)

HISTORIANS of the era of the American Revolution will long be indebted to Mr. Adams for his bibliographical study of American political pamphlets dealing with the dispute between Great Britain and its colonies and printed between 1764 and 1776. The compiler has restricted himself to pamphlets written by Americans which were printed in America, those written by Englishmen and first printed in England, then reprinted in America, and finally, pamphlets of English authorship which, although not reprinted in America, elicited a reply written by an American printed in America.

Published almost simultaneously with the first volume of Bernard Bailyn's magisterial edition of *Pamphlets of the American Revolution, 1750-1776*, the Adams' bibliographical study will inevitably raise questions of comparative methodology and objectives. One obvious divergence is the starting point, and here it must be remarked that Adams' beginning with the year 1764 seems too restrictive, as it leaves out Jonathan Mayhew's most seminal writings and the early radical views of James Otis. The effect is to telescope the growth of the notion of independence along traditional lines, and in a way that Knollenberg, Bailyn, and others who have stressed the deterioration of imperial relations prior to 1764 might well deplore. In at least one other respect the comparison with the Bailyn publication project is illuminating. Adams lists a dozen top best-selling political pamphlets of that period; it is perhaps significant that six of these are not to be included in the Bailyn pamphlet series. The conclusion seems warranted that Bailyn is more concerned with illustrating various facets of revolutionary thought than with concentrating on the tracts that were demonstrably most influential or most widely read.

Adams is meticulous in recording editions and locations of the pamphlets, and his listing, comprising some 231 entries, will be an essential tool for any scholar who may wish to write about the growth of American political and constitutional thought in this period. Historians will applaud Adams' projected bibliography of British political pamphlets of the American Revolution, 1764 to 1783, a badly needed guide to the shaping of British opinion on the sensitive subject of independence for the thirteen colonies.

Columbia University

RICHARD B. MORRIS

THE BOSTON TEA PARTY. By *Benjamin Woods Labaree*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 347. \$6.00.)

THIS is the history of a single event, the so-called Boston Tea Party. "It is the purpose of the present volume to explain its significance in the coming of the American Revolution."

In pursuit of this objective Professor Labaree sets the stage with succinct de-

scriptions of the colonial tea trade, the Townshend Acts of 1767 and American resistance to them, the repeal of all the duties except that on tea, and the administration of the tea duty to 1773. The drama really begins with the unhappy condition of the East India Company in 1773 and the passage of the Tea Act.

The author surveys the parliamentary debate on the Tea Act, which was ostensibly passed for the benefit of the East India Company. But the real significance of the debate turned upon whether the Townshend duty on tea imported into America should be repealed, and, if not, why not. Lord North insisted that the Townshend duty should not be repealed because of its usefulness in raising revenue to support colonial governments, but he was "flushed into the open" when he was forced to admit that there were "political reasons" why the duty should be retained. Labaree implies, although he never says so directly, that North was determined to continue the tea duty as a symbolic manifestation of Parliament's right to tax the colonies, a tax that the colonies had actually accepted in practice. "A stubborn Lord North," he says, by his insistence on retaining the duty in the face of strong parliamentary opposition, "had unwittingly hammered a nail in the coffin of the old British Empire." "Perhaps no bill of such momentous consequences has ever received less attention upon passage in Parliament."

The author has shown, if somewhat indecisively, that the real issue in the debate was that of taxing the colonies. Certainly this was the issue that was central to the American resistance; the author demonstrates convincingly that this, and not the fear of a monopoly, was what really and most profoundly concerned the Americans.

American resistance is surveyed in one chapter, and the preliminary efforts of the Boston radicals to have the tea there returned to England are described in another. The climax of the drama is reached, of course, in a description of the party of December 16, 1773. From that point on, the crystallization of a united American resistance followed the well-known pattern: American debates on the question and organized resistance; the anger of Lord North and Parliament leading to the coercive acts, again against the cautionary advice of the opposition; the impasse, the First Continental Congress.

Perhaps the most valuable part of the book is the discussion of the debate in Parliament and of the pamphlet literature that accompanied the appearance of the crisis. From this debate emerged a number of commentaries upon the theory of the British Empire, centering about the questions raised by the "dependence" of the colonies upon Britain and the power of Parliament to legislate for the colonies in all matters, including taxation, and the colonists' claim that they owed allegiance to the crown of Britain but not to its Parliament. The American counterparts of the British commentaries on the nature of the Empire appeared, of course, in the resolutions of the First Continental Congress and the pamphlet literature that sprang from the crisis in America. Once the Parliament and the Continental Congress had taken theoretical positions that were practically irrevocable, armed conflict was almost inevitable.

This is a workmanlike scholarly monograph on the event that crystallized the issues over which the American Revolution was fought. It contains little that is significantly new; yet it is based upon meticulous and exhaustive research that illuminates the details of the event. Its originality and its value lie in its scholarly investigation of the most critical event in the developing crisis leading to the Rev-

olution, that event's antecedents, and the steps by which its consequences led directly to independence.

The book has a useful bibliography and several statistical appendices.

University of Washington

MAX SAVELLE

E PLURIBUS UNUM: THE FORMATION OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC, 1776-1790. By *Forrest McDonald*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1965. Pp. xv, 326. \$5.95.)

PUBLICATION of Forrest McDonald's *We the People*, which was primarily a detailed refutation of earlier writings, led historians to anticipate that his next book would present an affirmative, equally detailed treatment of the formation of the Constitution and of the controversy over ratification. *E Pluribus Unum* is affirmative, but it is a general interpretive survey of the period rather than a meticulous work of scholarship. Indeed ratification is allotted only twenty pages, and two-thirds of the book outlines events before the Federal Convention. His purpose is primarily to explain the factors that led to the Constitution rather than to analyze the controversy concerning it.

McDonald argues that the period 1781-1788 was indeed critical. The nation, he believes, was in danger of disintegration. "Congress had gone to hell," fundamentally because too many men "ceased to care whether the Republic lived or died." Its salvation was due to the efforts of those who, "believing fiercely in the nation and but secondarily in republicanism," struggled to save the country against the forces and the "republicans" who would destroy it. Even during the Federal Convention the danger was still crucial, for the delegates, far from agreeing on fundamentals, quarreled bitterly and almost fatally. Fortunately "there were giants in the earth," and "as a result the Americans were despite themselves doomed forever to be free."

McDonald is a vigorous writer whose strong opinions are expressed clearly. His ideas are often original and stimulating. He has chosen to adopt a sprightly, even a slangy style and to scorn the usual scholarly caution, preferring a bold and colorful declaration of his views. Such a procedure will make the book popular, but many historians will be dissatisfied with unsupported statements such as: that every spring most men in New Hampshire made other men's wives pregnant; that the American government could operate only through bribery and deceit; that political parties in America do not oppose each other, but race in the same direction; that if you gave any American a dollar he bought something that cost ten; that southerners and Yankees reflected their environment so nearly that they might have been vegetation; or that George Mason was one of the nation's least enthusiastic friends.

Such freewheeling generalizations distract the reader from a serious consideration of McDonald's point of view. He is, as is well known, a "conservative revisionist" who has rejected the Beardian interpretation of the Constitution. He eliminates class and sectional conflicts from his discussion, and history in his hands becomes primarily a contest among factions or between individuals. He discusses South Carolina, for example, without reference to the conflict between merchants and artisans, planters and farmers. He feels that the North Carolina "rednecks" clashed with the planters solely because of jealousy. Maryland's poli-

tics, including the paper money controversy, are explained entirely in terms of personalities. Even Shays' Rebellion is blamed more on Benjamin Austin, Jr., than on the farmers' economic distress. The issue of private debts, for McDonald, involved controversies among speculators, merchants, large landowners, and other men of means rather than conflicts between poor debtors and well-to-do creditors. Similarly the opposition of Democrats and Whigs, so prominent in other works, is ignored. Indeed many historians will find his account of state politics totally unfamiliar.

For McDonald, history depends upon the economic and political motives of individuals. The nationalists are on the right side; the Republicans or Antifederalists are on the wrong side. Every revisionist work itself needs revision. McDonald's is no exception.

University of Maryland

JACKSON TURNER MAIN

MATTHEW ELLIOTT, BRITISH INDIAN AGENT. By *Reginald Horsman*. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 256. \$9.95.)

As a study of a typical agent of British policy in North America between the American Revolution and the War of 1812, this careful biography of a minor figure is as revealing as an analysis of high-level policy. An illiterate immigrant to western Pennsylvania, Matthew Elliott took an equivocal position at the opening of the Revolution, eventually sided with the British-Indian alliance, and subsequently set up as a trader at Detroit. For thirty years he dealt with tribes in what the British conceded to be American territory and served most of the time as an agent of the Indian service. When the British finally evacuated Detroit in fulfillment of Jay's Treaty, Elliott continued his lucrative operations near the new military base a few miles downriver at Amherstburg. His life closed almost precisely as the American triumph of 1813 wrecked the basis on which he had built his career.

Thoroughly documented in this book is the theme of distrust and reciprocal malignity between the armed forces and the Indian agents of the British. Implicit in Horsman's emphasis is the suggestion that this incompatibility explains the ultimate defeat of the British policy of supporting the client tribes in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan against the United States. The difficulty with this position is the assumption of full commitment to the Indians. Twenty-five years ago A. L. Burt read the evidence as suggesting that the British never figured out how to disengage themselves from what they recognized as an anachronistic relationship. Unwilling to abandon their historic allies, they yet had to see that the alliance must entail either a program of military defense in Upper Canada that would interfere with operations in Europe or an American invasion. In this perspective one may view the conflicts among local British officials as reflecting the ambivalence of British policy. Unwilling to antagonize either the United States or the tribes, the British muddled along for thirty years without formulating and implementing a clear-cut policy. It is doubtful that Elliott ever recognized the hopeless position of the tribes, but Horsman makes it entirely clear that he had a large personal stake in perpetuating it.

Oberlin College

THOMAS LEDUC

LAWS OF VERMONT. Edited by *John A. Williams*. [State Papers of Vermont, Volume XIII.] (Montpelier: Harry H. Cooley, Secretary of State. 1965. Pp. xiv, 327.)

For forty-seven years Vermont has been authorizing the publication of basic documents relating to its early history.

This volume reprints Vermont's laws for the years 1781-1784 when the state was struggling to maintain its very existence as an independent political body. The original publications of the laws were in pamphlet form, and copies are now found in a few libraries where most are nearly unreadable owing to the deterioration of ink and paper. The laws for this period are particularly important because they reflect the intense desire of the orderly and patriotic inhabitants of Vermont to record the governing principles of a new society while the state was beset with emergencies. The population was trebling in size, rivalry with New York threatened the peace, and leaders, frequently inexperienced, faced puzzling problems of government. But the lawmakers appropriately accepted as one basis of the new order the common law of England—"so much of the Common Law of England as is not repugnant to the Constitution [of 1777]"—and also attempted to legislate into being the wisdom of its neighboring and better-established states. Vermont adopted the British monetary system and rewrote statutes of Massachusetts on the establishment of local government. With the towns as the unit of local control, the legislature entrusted them with all sorts of burdens of self-government and set up an educational system that drew its support from the community. Vermont had a broad franchise, a popularly elected legislature with one house, a weak executive, and a powerful judiciary. The legislature moved about the state, sometimes holding each of its sessions in a different town. Its deliberations resulted in advanced concepts when it provided treble damages for forcible entry into a house, lands, or tenements, when it limited the death penalty to the most heinous crimes, when it strictly defined conspiracy, and when it insisted on the separation of church and state. Though these laws reflect the liberal impulses of the American Revolution, Vermont society followed the traditional patterns of New England development in politics and religion.

While the editor confined himself to the essential task of assembling and transcribing the documents, his introduction and notes are much too brief for such an important work as this.

University of Southern California

JOHN A. SCHUTZ

SALVATION AND THE SAVAGE: AN ANALYSIS OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS AND AMERICAN INDIAN RESPONSE, 1787-1862. By *Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr.* ([Lexington:] University of Kentucky Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 186. \$6.00.)

Salvation and the Savage takes the comparatively neglected period 1787-1862 to analyze Protestant missionary activity and the Indian response to it in terms of certain "sequences" or patterns of regularity that the author sees in the experience of all the major Protestant denominations and the tribes they worked with, including Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Senecas, Cherokees, Choctaws, Ojibwas, Sioux, Ottawas, Nez Percés, and many others. "Rather than a presentation in traditional

narrative form," Berkhofer writes, "the book is organized to present the determinants of the sequential patterns in analytical form." "Sequential analysis as demonstrated in this monograph," he adds, "offers one opportunity to avoid the usual moral fables that masquerade as Indian history."

Whether Berkhofer's sequential organization does much more than put new labels on stages in a well-recognized process is open to question. The titles of his chapters—"The Grand Object," "Nurseries of Morality," "Temples in the Forest," "An Industrious Citizenry," "Other Whites," "Jehovah's Stepchildren," and "Christians versus Pagans"—are more literary than historical or anthropological although they attempt to separate and analyze missionary assumptions, education, religion, farming, relationship with other whites, and Indian response. These ideas, and the practical events and theoretical stages they represent, are so intertwined, however, that their separation by Berkhofer seems artificial without contributing to the purpose of his analysis. The impressionistic rather than comprehensive citation of historical examples, moreover, requires an acceptance on faith of the a priori frame of structured sequences. Berkhofer recognizes the limitations of his evidence and asserts that "this monograph points to methods, and hopefully conclusions, beyond the narrow scope of its topic" and hopes both will be tested by others.

No one will deny that "earlier Americans acted as they did for the same reason that the Indians reacted as they did. Both groups behaved according to their own cultural systems." But saying this does not destroy what Berkhofer calls "the 'Century of Dishonor' approach" to Indian history, which he sets up as a straw man to knock down. It is mandatory, of course, for the historian to realize that all facts are embedded in a cultural context. But it is also mandatory for the historian to search for whatever can be denominated objective about an action irrespective of the viewpoint of the minds performing or considering the action. It is not necessary for the historian to assume a morally indifferent detachment from the story he is telling. Berkhofer, of course, reflects his own culture and training, as Helen Hunt Jackson did hers in an earlier century. Both represent a different way of looking at the same facts. The only proper questions are the validity of the specific facts each cites and the logical strength of the cultural and historical theories each holds. Berkhofer chooses not to analyze the errors of his predecessors or to do more than assert the validity of his own assumptions.

Despite these strictures the book is valuable. The manuscript resources of the Protestant missions have been skillfully exploited as the bibliography demonstrates; there are valuable analyses of the role of faction in the acculturation process. And, above all, the "culture concept" approach provides a corrective to the traditional approach for the historian who has been so far behind the times as to ignore it.

Smithsonian Institution

WILCOMB E. WASHBURN

THEODORE SEDGWICK, *FEDERALIST: A POLITICAL PORTRAIT*. By Richard E. Welch, Jr. (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 276. \$7.50.)

HERE is one biographer who wisely does not claim too much for his subject. Theodore Sedgwick, from 1789 to 1801 a member of Congress from the western dis-

trict of Massachusetts, senator, then Speaker of the House, according to Richard Welch, was "not either a major political leader or a policy maker." His principal achievements in the eyes of his first biographer were as "Hamilton's chief lieutenant in the House during the funding and assumption contests, the outstanding administration figure in the debate on the Jay Treaty resolution of Mr. [Edward] Livingston, and the senator most responsible for arming the nation in 1798 against the threat of war with France." Indeed, in view of Sedgwick's relative unimportance, the value of the study probably lies in presenting the career of "a typical Hamiltonian Federalist," who was "the personification of Federalist thought, virtue and prejudice," as Welch puts it.

Welch's assiduous combing of the voluminous collection of Sedgwick Papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society has not turned up any treasures that cast events of the Federalist era in a new light. His portrait of Sedgwick, however, is shaded in softer tones than those of other scholars who have occasion to touch on him. Welch corrects Zechariah Chafee's sketch in the *Dictionary of American Biography* to show that Sedgwick was never really an Adams Federalist, corrects Manning Dauer to show that he did not become a foe of Adams until 1797, and also demonstrates, contrary to Henry Adams, that he was not a secessionist in 1804. He successfully defends Sedgwick from Charles Beard's implication that his security holding was decisive in his federalism, and from Claude Bowers' innuendoes about his personal integrity. In dealing with the key crisis of 1798-1800, he is less convincing in his effort to rescue Sedgwick from Stephen Kurtz's contention that he wanted war against France for domestic political purposes and from James Smith's claim that he exploited the XYZ Affair for the same end. He also fails, in my judgment, to establish a political identity for Sedgwick apart from Hamilton; an exchange of letters with Hamilton seems to have set Sedgwick's course on almost every major political issue until 1801.

Sedgwick represented an agrarian, Shaysite district. To students of the American political process, it is disappointing that Welch did not probe the basis of its popular support for federalism, to test, for example, the provocative analysis of Dauer. Welch offers no clear explanation for the success and failure of Sedgwick's "political machine" in the elections of the 1790's.

This "political portrait," while sympathetic and defensive, is frank. In Welch's words, Sedgwick was "a single-minded and emotional partisan" with "an excitable disposition" and a "personal narrowness of mind." Readers thus will be able to judge for themselves whether his legislative career "redounded on the whole to the benefit of the country he loved" or whether he left his mark on the Federalist era chiefly as a "histrionic" orator responsible for "acts of illiberal extremism."

Northern Illinois University

ALFRED YOUNG

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Volume XVII, 6 JULY TO 3 NOVEMBER 1790. *Julian P. Boyd*, Editor. *Lucius Wilmerding, Jr.*, Consulting Editor. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. xxxvii, 677. \$15.00.)

VOLUME XVII of the *Jefferson Papers* follows Jefferson through his first months as Secretary of State and includes many official papers, memorandums, reports,

and quasi-official correspondence. Only the superb historianship of the editor stands between their mute technicalities and "pastness," and their present dramatic reality as episodes in the life of Jefferson.

This volume contains, first, the remarkable series of documents that Julian Boyd incorporated in his convention-shattering book *Number 7*. The complex story of Hamilton's secret dealings with the British agent, Major Beckwith, was worked out by the editor as one creative response to the challenges presented by hitherto inadequately studied documents.

A second series of documents concerns the Residence Bill of 1790. The editor makes clear that the reason Jefferson and Madison gave in to Hamilton on his measure for the assumption of the states' war debts was the ugly threat of disunion. If no funding bill came through, American credit at Amsterdam would, in Jefferson's view, "burst and vanish, and the states separate to take care everyone of itself." In addition, the advocates of other cities than New York for the seat of the government turned the issue into one of the "two most irritating questions" raised before Congress, the other being the question of the assumption. Ultimately these two dangerous issues were plucked from the raw skin of Congress by the controversial compromise of Jefferson and Madison. Boyd shows that Jefferson later considered this one of his greatest political errors because unwittingly he had forwarded Hamiltonian principles of administration that "flowed from principles adverse to liberty." The point is that it was not that he regretted aiding assumption as such, a decision that he had reached to prevent the dissolution of the Union.

A third major series of documents concerns the creation of the Federal City. Jefferson, aided by Madison, and acting with the cooperation of Washington, is shown in these papers to have exerted an unrelenting pressure to prevent the Residence Act from becoming a wasted opportunity. In alerting President Washington to move ahead rapidly, in firmly selecting the site, in appealing to the landowners in the chosen vicinity to cooperate, in seizing upon the maximum size for the seat of government allowed by the law, Jefferson converted the possibility of a new federal city into a promising reality. Talk about a new republican order was not enough. He wanted a well-planned capital, one that was independent of older cities and the pressures of their established circles of finance and speculation. Jefferson may, without more than the usual grain of artifice, be called the father of the city of Washington.

The three groups of papers selected for comment may be the cream of this volume, but the milk is whole throughout and not skimmed. The book is full of the indubitable proofs of Jefferson's astonishing range of systematic analysis and political experimentation. Too interesting to ignore is the evidence that Jefferson consciously defined a new style of administration in public office that may properly be called democratic, because of its moral commitment to the shared responsibilities of citizens and public officials. The contrast between Jefferson's style of administration and Hamilton's is revealed in many of these documents and notes, warranting the editor's statement that "It is . . . not at all surprising, though generally overlooked, that a disinterested administration of public affairs met with public response and commendation in the culminating contest of 1800." Oddly enough, the volume contains a letter from Ezra Stiles, president of Yale, complimenting Jefferson on his masterly reports and commenting: "for yourself I can

only wish, that when the best of Men, the present President, shall be translated to the World of Light, a Jefferson may succeed him in the Presidency of the United States." That was August 1790. The decisive decade lay ahead.

University of Michigan

ADRIENNE KOCH

JOHN JAMES AUDUBON. By *Alice Ford*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 488. \$7.95.)

In this first full-scale biography of John James Audubon since that of Francis Hobart Herrick in 1917, Alice Ford has made an important contribution to our knowledge of this major American romantic. Admittedly indebted to Herrick, Ford has gone far beyond her predecessor in laying to rest the myths created by Audubon himself and by his pious female relatives. She has, for example, established the maternal ancestry of a man who lied almost pathologically in his efforts to hide his illegitimacy. She has also demonstrated that Audubon's tale of having studied with Jacques Louis David, a story accepted by previous biographers, was a spurious invention.

In all of this, while she recognizes the personal weaknesses of her flamboyant hero, Ford is his partisan. She defends him against the attacks of George Ord, that strange, vindictive man who sought to preserve the memory of Alexander Wilson by destroying the reputation of his greater rival and successor. In this she even excuses or, at any rate, passes over quickly Audubon's famous plagiaries of Wilson birds.

Obviously Ford has sought to bring together as much material about Audubon and his associates as is possible. She deals in great detail with everything from his beginnings in Santo Domingo to his final senility at his farm on the Hudson, but she provides very little focus. A failure in Pennsylvania and a bankruptcy in Kentucky seem as significant as Audubon's struggles with the great product of his genius, *The Birds of America*. In a sense the book lacks interpretation. Audubon, the charlatan-genius, seems to cry out for a psychologically oriented biography, but the author limits herself to a few statements about his insecurity. More than this, while she excuses Audubon's scientific deficiencies as being unimportant in a man who was primarily an artist, she does not deal sufficiently with Audubon's place as an illustrator of American fauna.

Even with these reservations, this is an important book about a significant American artist and naturalist. It is not only a dependable account of the man's life, but an extremely useful "Art Miscellany" separates from the corpus of Audubon's work a number of paintings falsely attributed to him. Those who deal with Audubon in the future must be as dependent on Ford's researches as once they would have been on those of Herrick. This volume, like recent accounts of Asa Gray and Louis Agassiz by A. Hunter Dupree and Edward Lurie, gives evidence of how well scientific biography can illustrate aspects of nineteenth-century American thought.

University of Delaware

GEORGE F. FRICK

UNDER THEIR VINE AND FIG TREE: TRAVELS THROUGH AMERICA IN 1797-1799, 1805, WITH SOME FURTHER ACCOUNT OF LIFE IN NEW JERSEY. By *Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz*. Translated and edited with an introduction and notes by *Metchie J. E. Budka*. [Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society at Newark, Volume XIV.] (Elizabeth, N. J.: Grassman Publishing Company. 1965. Pp. lvii, 398. \$10.00.)

CONTAINED in this substantial volume are the *Travels through America* of Julian Niemcewicz, a Polish exile, beginning in August 1797 and ending in November 1799; an account of his sojourn in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, 1799-1802; the diary of his second visit to America, 1804-1807; and a journal of a trip to Niagara in 1805. Mr. Budka deserves full credit for his task of searching out these journals, of skillfully translating them from French and Polish, and of annotating them; the New Jersey Historical Society likewise is to be commended for sponsoring their publication. This work will stand beside the best travel journals by foreign visitors of the early years of the republic.

Niemcewicz was thirty-nine years of age when he accompanied Kosciuszko on his return to America after both men had been released from Russian prisons. Prevented by political reasons from returning to Poland for more than a visit, Niemcewicz remained in Elizabethtown. In 1800 he married Mrs. Susan Kean, a well-connected widow. With the formation of the grand duchy of Warsaw in 1807, he left America for good. In Poland he served as secretary of the Senate and in other official posts. Always a writer, he produced prolifically from 1815 to 1830. He died a political exile in Paris.

In his *Travels* Niemcewicz first made forays through New Jersey to New York City. After spending time again in Philadelphia he visited Baltimore and Washington. Following a visit with Washington at Mount Vernon, he traveled to Frederick, Maryland, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, New York City, and all the New England states except Vermont. He returned through the back country by way of Worcester, Pittsfield, and Albany. The last journey recorded was a botanical expedition through the pine barrens of south New Jersey. The *Journey to Niagara* took Niemcewicz through the Iroquois country, New Amsterdam (Buffalo), the falls, and into Ontario, Canada. *America Remembered* deals with life in Elizabethtown, and the final contribution, *Diary of Second Visit*, begins with a trip from Norfolk, Virginia, to Elizabethtown, and ends with Niemcewicz' decision to return to Poland.

Niemcewicz was a graceful writer, and at no point does the translator stand between the writer and the reader. The author talked with Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Marshall, Jay, and other prominent Americans. His opinions are those of an educated observer and touch upon a variety of topics, with the result that the book constitutes a mine of information for social historians.

No one, he wrote, was disadvantaged in this land of enlightened and industrious men except the slaves. He condemned the slave traders; the custom of slavery he considered "an insult to human dignity." His vignettes of countless communities argue that equality, independence, and freedom were prized possessions. Indeed America's prosperity was "the result of freedom," whose light "penetrates the poorest hut."

Huntington Library

JOHN E. POMFRET

THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT. Volume X, FROM MAY 1800 THROUGH OCTOBER 1801. Edited by *Albert E. Van Dusen* and *Willda Van Dusen*. (Hartford: Connecticut State Library. 1965. Pp. xxxix, 561. \$8.00.)

THE content of this volume is clearly indicated in its title, and so is the purpose: to give readers an intimate and detailed account of Connecticut's public records for the period covered. It contributes not only records but insight into society of the period. Since the text is of necessity confined to official records, the editors' contribution lies largely in footnotes, which are most interesting and illuminating.

I felt as if I were being transported back several decades in time, since, when compiling notes for my history of Connecticut from 1818 to 1850, I consulted the same kind of records used by the Van Dusens. They were in manuscript, in good and bad handwriting. Being a native of Connecticut, I will refer to a number of interesting passages that appealed to me.

The state is referred to as the land of "steady habits." Good old Connecticut conservatism! The clergy are ridiculed for attending Election Day ceremonies because they could get free dinners there. President Timothy Dwight of Yale College is often called "Pope" since he was the unchallenged head of both clerical and educational groups in the state. Then there was the notorious "Stand-up Law" under which men did not cast secret ballots in local elections, but had to stand up to be counted; thus everyone knew for whom they voted. Connecticut was also a dull place by modern standards: an act of May 1800 outlawed theatrical shows and exhibitions. The insurance business, so important today, was getting under way in the state. Newspapers were wary of editorials criticizing a party in power, but this was circumvented by the printing of anonymous letters. There were acts to encourage the raising of sheep and the building of turnpikes, to clear a shipping channel in the Connecticut River, encourage fisheries, and regulate the inspection of beef and pork intended for export.

These are but a few of the many interesting items. The book will provide a mass of information that political and social historians will find invaluable.

Maryland Historical Society

JARVIS M. MORSE

THE RISE OF URBAN AMERICA. By *Constance McLaughlin Green*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1965. Pp. 208. \$4.95.)

WITH her accustomed felicity in the use of graphic details and her mastery at summarization, Mrs. Green has produced a very readable account of an important facet of American history. Despite its brevity, the book achieves a comprehensive review of the subject, excelling in this respect its only rival, Mrs. Green's earlier volume, *American Cities in the Growth of the Nation*. Yet the two books are in no sense repetitious, for while the author starts off here with a review of the same five colonial ports and includes brief references to most of the eleven other cities sketched in the earlier volume, she succeeds this time in weaving their growth as well as that of many other American cities into a broad pattern of urban developments.

Three basic themes unify this book: the changing character of urban life, the impact of national developments on cities, and the contributions they in turn made to American history. Possibly to avoid a charge of proffering a simplistic

urban interpretation of the nation's growth, the author has neglected or at least muted her third theme to such an extent that readers, swept along by the gusto with which she narrates stirring events and describes colorful scenes, will sometimes forget that she is depicting the rise of urban America. Perhaps this is proper for the early periods when cities, still minor features on the national scene, were easily buffeted by wars and by shifting economic trends. Yet even for the early 1800's, Richard Wade's book on *The Urban Frontier*, not cited here, gives its embryo cities a more important role in the westward movement than Green accords them. The essentially urban character of the progressive movement at the close of that century likewise deserves more attention.

These, however, are shadings in emphasis, and the moving story of the rise of urban America does not falter until Green reaches the last half century, where the dearth of interpretive studies of urban developments is clearly evident. Historians have too long neglected this recent period in which cities have become the predominant habitat and should supply significant clues to national history. Of course, most of the important events occurred in cities, such as the encampment of the Bonus Army in Washington, which she describes, but more germane to this volume were the visits of successive delegations of mayors to Washington and the varied responses they received from Hoover and Roosevelt. That crucial turn in American history still awaits probing study. Green has singled out another basic issue in modern America, the Negro question, and relates it significantly to the rise of an urban society. In her concluding chapter, the author couples housing with civil rights and automation with education as the primary dilemmas of our urbanized society.

Rochester, New York

BLAKE MCKELVEY

THE DRY YEARS: PROHIBITION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN WASHINGTON. By Norman H. Clark. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 304. \$6.95.)

A RECENTLY renewed, scholarly interest in the American temperance movement and Prohibition is apparent. This interest, manifested in published articles and books as well as in unpublished theses and dissertations, has already led to a revision of the traditional approach. Most historians and sociologists at work here are neither apologists nor antagonists; they do not exaggerate nor underrate the alcohol problem; they do not, as others did previously, glorify or deprecate the reform directed primarily against the alcohol problem. Rather, while not agreeing with one another on all issues, they argue that temperance and Prohibition appealed to great numbers of people and seriously affected many aspects of American life.

In this book Norman Clark makes an important contribution to the revisionist school. His is one of the few studies in depth of the temperance movement and Prohibition within a single state. In a judicious, well-documented, highly readable narrative he traces temperance sentiment and activity in Washington from the early nineteenth century through the Prohibition era down to the 1950's. He analyzes the various strains and emphases in this movement, illustrates connections with other reforms, and discusses the impact made by temperance reformers upon society in the state of Washington.

Clark adds to the value of his study by testing on a state level two major generalizations often made about the American temperance movement and Prohibition. Most convincing is his refutation of the generalization that the drive for Prohibition was an expression of and a part of a rural, antiurban reaction. Less convincing is his support of the generalization that temperance was a middle-class reform and that the adoption of Prohibition was a middle-class accomplishment. His own analysis of votes on specific proposals in parts of Washington shows backing of Prohibition by many and varied economic groupings. Clark, nevertheless, sees in these votes the seeking of middle-class identification by the so-called lower middle class. He also attributes to temperance and Prohibition specific middle-class values.

Although failing to substantiate the latter generalization, Clark successfully casts his comprehensive, one-state study in the national framework. In doing so, he underscores the general importance of the temperance movement and Prohibition in American society.

City College of New York

NORTON MEZVINSKY

THE LETTERS OF ELIJAH FLETCHER. Edited by *Martha von Briesen*. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1965. Pp. xix, 306. \$7.50.)

FLETCHER, a native of Ludlow, Vermont, graduated from the University of Vermont in 1810 at the age of twenty-one and thereupon headed south to fulfill a teaching commitment in Raleigh, North Carolina. Reaching Washington, D. C., he encountered another young schoolmaster who was eager to join friends in Raleigh, but who had contracted to teach in Alexandria, Virginia. Fletcher amiably agreed to an exchange of assignments and established himself in Virginia, where he remained the rest of his life.

The letters in this volume, spanning the years 1808–1858 and directed to kinsmen in Vermont and Indiana, reveal little about the Old Dominion that was not already known, yet demonstrate that an enterprising Yankee could adjust to its ante bellum climate with noteworthy success. Relinquishing his Alexandria post in 1811, Fletcher removed to Amherst County to preside over a local academy. Two years later he married one of his pupils, thereby gaining not only a bride but a wealthy and prominent father-in-law. The father-in-law's death shortly afterward thrust the schoolmaster into the ranks of the planter class. With singular ease he revamped his initial reactions to Virginia, especially in respect to slavery, which he had denounced in 1811.

Though the present volume does not exhume the sources of Fletcher's wealth, the introductory notes hint at profitable dealings (foreclosures?) in Amherst County real estate. After 1817 Fletcher resided for some thirty years in Lynchburg, an influential citizen, promoter, and two-term mayor of the city. His rise to civic prominence was doubtless accelerated by his acquisition, in 1825, of the Lynchburg *Virginian*, through default of the previous owner in meeting a debt. Fletcher also operated several large plantations in nearby areas and invested heavily in Indiana bank stocks. The final decade of his life was spent at "Sweet Briar," a three-thousand-acre estate in Amherst County. Fletcher's principal claim to remembrance stems from the action of his daughter, Indiana (Fletcher) Williams, in

allocating her share of his considerable fortune, some forty years after his death, to the creation of Sweet Briar College.

Virginia Historical Society

JOHN M. JENNINGS

RELIGIOUS STRIFE ON THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER. By *Walter Brownlow Posey*. [The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History.] ([Baton Rouge:] Louisiana State University Press. 1965. Pp. xviii, 112. \$4.00.)

IN three lectures Professor Posey surveys the religious controversies of the ante bellum South. But rather than present a new and bold hypothesis accounting for the phenomena, the author of three previous monographs on religious activity in the Old Southwest straightforwardly describes some of the more familiar aspects of religious strife.

The first lecture is the story of Protestant's controversy with Protestant, a disagreement that occurred after a short period of denominational harmony. In discussing the fall from ecumenical grace, Posey notes that controversies arose when denominational leaders felt that they were losing their theological and ecclesiological identity; this might have prompted Posey to explain at length the historical significance of early American religious strife. Perhaps the controversies were not so childish as Posey intimates; or if they were childish, perhaps we might ask what children do to establish their identity in a changing world and what this might mean for understanding a people in the process of creating and justifying institutions. Unfortunately, Posey has not taken the liberties a lecturer might take with his subject, but has turned instead to anecdote and the repetition of familiar generalizations. Consequently, the reader is not told the relation of religious strife to political development, basic social change, or even to the formation of southern Protestantism. The same problems exist for the second lecture—"Protestants against a New Sect"—which recounts the vigorous discussion between the more established denominations and the Campbellites. At times the controversy engulfed whole communities, but we do not know exactly why; nor do we know why the Disciples of Christ became more acceptable. Perhaps the slavery controversy helped to create harmony within the South. But on this as on other matters Posey apparently believes that "One man cannot say how or why the thinking of another man changes, but modifications can be observed and the new relationships noted." This attitude also guides the third lecture's description of anti-Catholic attacks which varied with time and place until the Civil War when "men's bigotries paled into insignificance as they rallied to causes of larger scope."

There is a self-conscious integrity in this as in all of Posey's work, but some readers will be disappointed by the lack of a clear, unifying, and imaginative thesis, especially at a time when there is an increasing interest in the history of American religion.

Princeton University

DONALD G. MATHEWS

POLITICS ON THE SOUTHWESTERN FRONTIER: ARKANSAS TERRITORY, 1819-1836. By *Lonnie J. White*. (Memphis, Tenn.: Memphis State University Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 219. \$6.50.)

THIS first complete scholarly account of the formative period of Arkansas politics traces the origins of the Democratic and Whig parties in the state. Although Pro-

fessor White centers his narrative on political affairs and personalities, he also introduces enough economic and social information to acquaint the reader with general conditions within frontier Arkansas. The book opens with a chapter on the creation of the territory, in which the author establishes that the congressional debate on the Arkansas bill foreshadowed the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and follows a chronological arrangement throughout, ending with an account of the movement for statehood in 1835-1836. While national politics had some effect within frontier Arkansas, especially through presidential appointments, White finds early Arkansas politics dominated by family cliques, bitter personal rivalry, unrestrained name calling, and even politically inspired duels. And in the eyes of territorial voters, a congressional delegate's worth seems to have been gauged mostly on his ability to secure federal aid.

Scholarly books on Arkansas history are few, and those with adequate documentation are even fewer. White's footnotes and bibliography make a major contribution to Arkansas historiography. This book is based on sound research, is written in a readable style, and is one of the best volumes published to date on Arkansas history.

Southern State College

ROBERT B. WALZ

THE MOUNTAIN MEN AND THE FUR TRADE OF THE FAR WEST: BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE PARTICIPANTS BY SCHOLARS OF THE SUBJECT AND WITH INTRODUCTIONS BY THE EDITOR. Volume I. Under the editorial supervision of *LeRoy R. Hafen*. (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1965. Pp. 397. \$14.50.)

THIS first of a projected six or more volumes contains biographies of individuals who were engaged in the fur trade during the early nineteenth century. Editor LeRoy R. Hafen, assisted by some fifty contributors, will offer biographical sketches (from one to twenty-five pages in length) of approximately four hundred mountain men.

The initial volume contains a long introductory essay by Hafen that provides a useful background for that which is to follow. Some of the material has been previously published; for example, the first chapter leans heavily upon LeRoy R. Hafen and Carl C. Rister, *Western America*, as do parts of some of the following chapters. The discussion of William Ashley's participation in the fur trade is based upon standard works, including such recent contributions as Richard Oglesby's *Manuel Lisa* (1963) and Dale Morgan's monumental *The West of William H. Ashley* (1964). For the part played by the American Fur Company, and the passing of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, Hafen has depended principally upon Paul C. Phillips, *The Fur Trade*, and Hiram M. Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*.

For some of the contributors, preparation of a brief biographical sketch of the subject was relatively easy. In writing about James Clyman (by Charles L. Camp), Alexander Culbertson (by Ray H. Mattison), and Charles Larpenteur (by Louis Pfaller) the authors had access to a considerable amount of previously published material. On the other hand, the paucity of sources about lesser known mountain men is indicated by the brevity of the biography. Harvey L. Carter's portrayal of Jimmy Daugherty, for example, is less than a page and a half long. The same problem is apparent in even longer treatments. Gloria Griffen Cline's offer-

ing on Job Francis Dye is about a "beaver and sea otter trapper, distiller, gold-seeker, merchant and rancher," but most of the account deals with Dye's nonfur activities. The impression is left that he barely qualified for inclusion in such a volume. Other men dealt with in this volume are: Manuel Alvarez (by Harold H. Dunham), Abel Baker, Jr., and Charles Town (by Janet Lecompte), Pinckney W. and Solomon P. Sublette (by John E. Sunder), Francis A. Chardon (by Ray H. Mattison), Jean Baptiste Charbonneau (by Ann W. Hafen), Henry Chatillon (by Wilbur R. Jacobs), Thomas Eddie (by Frederic E. Voelker), Gabriel Franchere (by Carl P. Russell), Mark Head (by Harvey L. Carter), Joseph L. Meek (by Harvey E. Tobie), George Nidever (by Margaret E. Beckman and William H. Ellison), Hiram Scott (by Merrill J. Mattes), and Isaac Slover (by Andrew F. Rolle).

There is no index to this volume; it will be provided when all the biographies have been published. Some of the contributions have brief bibliographical inclusions; others do not. When completed this series will offer a valuable, easily accessible reference work that will be very useful to students of American history.

University of Colorado

ROBERT G. ATHEARN

MEN AGAINST THE MOUNTAINS: JEDEDIAH SMITH AND THE SOUTH WEST EXPEDITION OF 1826-1829. By *Alson J. Smith*. (New York: John Day Company. 1965. Pp. 320. \$5.95.)

ON August 16, 1826, Jedediah Strong Smith and seventeen men left Cache Valley, Utah, on a journey that took them by November 27 to San Gabriel mission, situated near the insignificant pueblo of Los Angeles. Hospitably received by the padres, but suspiciously by the governor, Smith left southern California to move north to the American River in the San Joaquin Valley in mid-January 1827. After establishing a base camp on the Stanislaus River, Smith, accompanied by two others, crossed the Sierra Nevada and reached Great Salt Lake in late June. Moving on to the summer rendezvous at Bear Lake, Smith rejoined his business partners, William Sublette and David Jackson. Ten days later he again headed for California with a party of eighteen (including two Indian women). The second expedition was plagued by disaster. While the company was crossing the Colorado on August 18, the Mohave Indians slew ten of them. When Smith reached the pueblo of San Jose, he was arrested and sent under guard to Monterey to be jailed. Only after a bond was posted by some American ship captains was he permitted to leave. Trapping their way leisurely northward to Oregon, the small band encountered a party of Klawatset Indians on July 14, 1828, while encamped on the Umpqua River; only four survived the attack. Smith was made welcome at Fort Vancouver, which he reached on August 10. There he spent the winter. On March 12, 1829, with one remaining party stalwart, Smith headed up the Columbia River for the return trip east. On August 20 he was reunited with his partners at Pierre's Hole near Jackson Lake in the shadow of the Tetons.

This book, based primarily on the published works of Harrison C. Dale, Dale L. Morgan, and Maurice Sullivan, adds nothing new to our knowledge of Smith's two expeditions. Such was not the author's intent. He has provided a broader canvas for Smith's overland adventures by brushing in considerable descriptive "local color and setting," and for that he is to be complimented. Morgan's

Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West, however, contains the essential story and documentation; it is still the most reliable account.

University of Southern California

DOYCE B. NUNIS, JR.

THE PACIFIC SLOPE: A HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA, OREGON, WASHINGTON, IDAHO, UTAH, AND NEVADA. By *Earl Pomeroy*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1965. Pp. xii, 403, xvi. \$8.95.)

AFTER Hubert Howe Bancroft's initial effort, there have been few attempts to write the history of the Pacific coastal states. Indeed, beyond the state level, the writing of western regional history has not been notably successful. Geographically and otherwise, the area lacks unity. The disparities between states like Washington and California are at least as great as those between Delaware and Massachusetts. Thus the organization of any book of western regional history is bound to be largely synthetic. Pomeroy includes Idaho, Utah, and Nevada in his definition of the "Pacific slope." Regionalism, so often subconscious and therefore amorphous, makes it necessary that the geographer, the novelist, and the historian define local boundaries. Each is bound to differ as to what constitutes the limits of an area. A good many writers would have included only Oregon, Washington, and California in such a book as this, and with some justification.

Because of the necessity to cover so much territory, here and there individual cities receive rather thin treatment; the development of San Diego, for example, is discussed in less than a page. In its technique and coverage this volume resembles W. Eugene Hollon's *The Southwest: Old and New* (1961). Despite occasional vagueness, Pomeroy's is, however, a sounder work than Neil Morgan's *Westward Tilt* (1963), which perhaps comes the closest to it in scope.

All of these authors deserve credit for attempting unified histories of complicated regions. Their books are in the popular-scholarly vein—partly interpretive and partly narrative. A highly varied substrata of references, mostly secondary but some primary (with a few curious gaps), support Pomeroy's effort.

In so far as this book is intended to interpret the impact of the past on the present, its currency is somewhat reduced by using population statistics (and some others too) that do not go beyond 1960. During the last five years California's population increased by about three million persons, making it the most populous state in the nation. In fairness to the book, one must remind himself of its wide scope. To treat simultaneously the history, politics, economics, society, and culture of so divergent an area is a Herculean undertaking.

Occidental College

ANDREW ROLLE

THE NEVADA ADVENTURE. By *James W. Hulse*. (Reno: University of Nevada Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 290. \$7.50.)

A NUMBER of recent books deal with various aspects of Nevada's past, but none brings the story up to date. This volume offers a general history of Nevada that will provide a complete chronological account as well as one that will be suitable for classroom use throughout the state. The author presents his work on this basis alone and states frankly that historians looking for a more detailed study will have to await the forthcoming work of his colleague at the University of Nevada, Russell R. Elliott.

Beginning with a brief discussion of the natural setting and of prehistoric man in Nevada, Hulse devotes chapters to the first explorers (1826-1844) and to the coming of the immigrants during the 1840's. As one might expect, the chronology then proceeds to the 1859 mining boom and somewhat premature statehood in 1864. Into this period, however, Hulse inserted an interesting chapter on Mormon settlements in the Carson Valley, the Las Vegas mission, and the nonmining aspects of Nevada during the 1850's. His treatment of the period of bonanza mining, which he dates 1864-1881, follows traditional lines and does not presume to add any fresh material. More interesting to those not already somewhat familiar with the history of the state is a fine chapter on the opening of southern and eastern Nevada in the same period. It covers the renewed interest of the Mormons in expanding westward, the founding of towns, and the relationship of these communities to the spread of the mining frontier to that part of the state. The differences between these two forces of western settlement are illustrated in a chapter section entitled "Mormon Towns and Mining Towns."

The second half of the book covers the postbonanza depression (1881-1900), the brief resurgence of the Tonopah-Goldfield boom (1900-1915), and what the author calls "Latter-day Mining, 1900-1964," or the mining of nonprecious metals. Other chapters discuss the growth of transportation and tourism and their final impact upon Nevada, the role of the federal government in the twentieth century, the importance of the atomic era, and the political problems introduced by these developments. In considering this last topic the author felt that he had to come to grips with the problem of legalized gambling; his efforts to explain the necessity of such an important "industry" of the state makes interesting reading. One gains the impression that this was the most distasteful part of his task.

University of Colorado

ROBERT G. ATHEARN

THE SOUTHWEST OF JOHN H. SLAUGHTER, 1841-1922: PIONEER CATTLEMAN AND TRAIL-DRIVER OF TEXAS, THE PECOS, AND ARIZONA AND SHERIFF OF TOMBSTONE. By *Allen A. Erwin*. [Western Frontiersmen Series, Number 10.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1965. Pp. 368. \$11.00 postpaid.)

BEN Slaughter went to Texas during the early days of the republic, grew up with the country, and fathered a large brood. Certainly the most famous member of his clan was John Horton Slaughter, who lived a full life on the Texas frontier as a Civil War soldier, Ranger, scout, and trail driver. Later he moved to New Mexico and built a large ranch on the Pecos not far from the cattle empire of his fellow Texan, John Chisum.

Shortly before 1880 (the author's dates and order of events are confusing), legal difficulties in New Mexico caused John Slaughter to move his herd to southern Arizona. Near the town of Douglas, which he helped establish, he and his second wife developed the famous San Bernardino Ranch, which extended for miles on both sides of the international boundary. Slaughter became one of the most successful cattle barons in the Southwest, and employed dozens of Mexican *vaqueros* and Negro and Anglo-American cowboys.

Small in stature and brave to the point of foolhardiness, Slaughter consented to two terms as sheriff of Tombstone's Cochise County. He quickly established

himself as one of the most feared and efficient law officers in the West and did much to rid the mining and cattle towns of Apache marauders, Mexican bandits, and Anglo-American cattle rustlers and highwaymen. He knew all of the territory's infamous characters, from Geronimo and the Earp brothers and Doc Holiday to Pancho Villa, and he helped bring to an abrupt end the careers of some of the less well-known ones.

Allen A. Erwin has enjoyed a career even more varied than his subject's. This is his first book, and it is obviously a labor of love. Though the author deserves much credit for his extensive research, the narrative often has an oversimplified style, making the story difficult to follow: too many events are anticipated long before they are covered in sufficient detail. This book falls short of being a comprehensive and definitive history of the man and his region; it is, nevertheless, a contribution to the field. For one thing it rekindles the flavor of a bygone frontier era when most men fell into two categories—good cowboys and bad cowboys—with little difference between them.

University of Oklahoma

W. EUGENE HOLLON

OIL, LAND AND POLITICS: THE CALIFORNIA CAREER OF THOMAS ROBERT BARD. In two volumes. By *W. H. Hutchinson*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 349; viii, 394. \$11.95 the set.)

In this time of easy living, when traditional values and precepts are often forgotten or simply rejected, the record of a man like Thomas R. Bard (1841-1915) serves to stiffen the spine and refresh our belief in the dignity of man.

This record is presented by William Hutchinson with a vigor and eloquence uniquely his own, with a gentle affection and pride inspired by his knowledge of Bard, and with a scholarly attention to details required by the complexity and importance of Bard's business and political careers. A creative blend of biography and history, these two volumes reveal Bard's unfailing decency and compassion, his steady courage, his charming boyishness, and guiding morality; they also reveal the influence and achievement of his fifty years' work in California's growth and development: his pioneering leadership in the oil industry, in land development, in local and state politics, in agriculture, sheep raising, railroad promotion, banking, coastal shipping, conservation, city planning, and development of water resources.

By introducing a third dimension to *Oil, Land and Politics*, Hutchinson has re-created southern California with "its promise and its freedom" during the fifty years after the Civil War. Scores of businessmen, farmers, and politicians—the eminent and the previously ignored—are introduced, and the country is described with broad perspective and vivid detail.

Yet these volumes, for all the brilliance of the writing and the warmth of the human story, are not easily read. The reader early senses, and is often burdened by, the author's uncompromising determination to create from his pioneering research a detailed record to serve as a source for the study of oil, land, and politics in southern California. In oil, that record begins with Bard's two years as field director of the California Petroleum Company. It climaxes with his founding in 1900 and assuming the presidency of the Union Oil Company. In land, the record encompasses the technicalities of land titles, mortgages, and leases; the dangers of

boundary dispute and squatter troubles are set amidst the transition of California from Hispanic pastoral use to Anglo-American agricultural development. In politics, the record begins with Bard's election in 1867 to the Santa Barbara County Board of Supervisors, followed by numerous other political campaigns, and leads finally to his election by the California legislature in 1900 to the United States Senate. He helped reform the Republican party and participated in the progressive movement in California.

A major and rewarding feature of these volumes is the frequent use of Bard's letters—delightfully revealing, often eloquent—to his mother back East, to his business and political associates and rivals, and to his family.

The destiny planned for Bard has heretofore been largely ignored. Hutchinson has revealed it all, and in so doing he has created two volumes that will long nourish the study of California history.

San Francisco State College

J. S. HOLLIDAY

THE ANTISLAVERY VANGUARD: NEW ESSAYS ON THE ABOLITIONISTS. Edited by *Martin Duberman*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 508. \$10.00.)

MATCHBOOKS mysteriously circulating during the recent closing ceremonies of the Civil War Centennial Commission at Springfield, Illinois, bore the reverent message: "Thank God it's finished!" Weary "buffs" and their near-mutinous spouses heartily cheered this sentiment. Professional historians present also applauded but perhaps more from politeness than from conviction. They knew that work on the war is far from complete. Instead it is rapidly enlarging as constructive debate sharpens on the purposes and policies of the men who shaped the vital center of the nineteenth century.

Happily the controversy is running on a high and useful level. *The Antislavery Vanguard* sustains this commendable characteristic and illustrates also some of the many fronts of inquiry from which historians and other diggers are looking again at antislavery movements and leaders. Consider the utility of having so conveniently at hand comparative estimations by Howard Temperley and Robin Winks, respectively, of British and Canadian antislavery men and measures, by which to gauge the American experience, and Howard Zinn's comparison of abolitionists with today's freedom riders and marchers.

The constituent elements of few compendiums are as well linked as is true in *Vanguard*. David Brion Davis' overview of two millennia of classical and Judaeo-Christian concepts of and experience with slavery makes clear the novelty and recency of the antislavery impulse, when in that vast span of time only a century and a half ago men felt more than rhetorically stirred by the notion that slavery was eradicable sin. Staughton Lynd's contribution illuminates the expectation in the late eighteenth century that slavery, with its derivative political power for the South, was destined to grow, not wither away. He depicts the haloed framers of the 1787 Constitution as evasive on the tenacious "peculiar institution" out of a consensus that southern optimism on that score was justified and because of antipathy toward the idea of permanent biracial coexistence should the South's slaves somehow be free. Robert F. Durden supplements Lynd's point by a restatement of the similar ambiguities many Republicans felt ninety years later, toward

the reality of free, close Negroes. To be sure Durden holds to what I believe is an unrealistic neutral plane of moral judgment between Republicans, who, at the crucial moment, decided for freedom, and slaveowners, who would not willingly budge from perpetual racial privilege.

Admittedly tentative in its method and conclusions, a stimulating essay by Silvan Tomkins on "The Psychology of Commitment" provides reason to pause for those who see the antislavery militants as certifiable extremists. His judgment receives reinforcement in several of the other essays of more traditional methodological cast, notably those by Fawn Brodie and Martin Duberman. Certainly the impact of the whole volume is to confirm Duberman's conclusion that "there is now evidence enough to suggest that [antislavery] commitment and concern need not be aberrations; [and] . . . for believing that those who protested strongly against slavery were not all misguided fanatics or frustrated neurotics. . . ."

Review space limitation prevents further detailing of other worthy essays in this volume, and I prefer not merely to restate the table of contents. Instead I congratulate all the contributors for succeeding in making more constructive the ongoing controversy on antislavery men and institutions, and thank Duberman for shouldering the burden of organizing this effort as well as for his essay in it. The misdating of Dred Scott's case on page thirty-nine slipped by, but no error of detail can mar the substantive quality of this book or lessen the impact it will have.

University of Illinois

HAROLD M. HYMAN

JONATHAN WORTH: A BIOGRAPHY OF A SOUTHERN UNIONIST.

By *Richard L. Zuber*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1965. Pp. 351. \$7.50.)

JONATHAN Worth, lawyer, businessman, conservative Whig politician, public financier, and governor of North Carolina (1865-1868), is pictured by his biographer as a representative of the unionist faction of the pre-Civil War South. Worth was born of Massachusetts Quaker parents in New Garden, North Carolina; his career spanned the years from 1802 to 1869. His views on slavery, public education, internal improvements, politics, and government were largely shaped by his Quaker heritage and Archibald DeBow Murphey under whom he studied law.

As a member of the legislature Worth championed state support of education and internal improvements, and later participated in developing the state system of education and plank roads and railroads. Although a slaveholder, he opposed the extreme proslavery men who wished to restrict the circulation of abolition literature and to forbid the teaching of slaves to read and write. He characterized the tariff acts of 1824 and 1828 as unwise, unequal, and oppressive, but he condemned the doctrine of nullification as violent and dangerous and supported President Jackson's position that the Union must be preserved. To the end he held fast to these views. He supported the Compromise of 1850 as a permanent solution of the sectional controversy. Branding secession as a ruinous heresy, he opposed the calling of a state convention and was one of three members who voted against secession after Lincoln's call for troops in 1861. Believing that his state had committed suicide, but unable to prevent such an act, Worth chose to go down with his companions.

As treasurer (1862-1865) Worth managed the state's business conservatively, wisely, and successfully. At war's end he acted as a go-between for Governor Vance with President Johnson and General Grant and safeguarded state property including the state's archives; at the same time he saved practically all of his personal property.

Governor Worth defended the state against interference by military commanders and opposed both the Reconstruction Acts and the Fourteenth Amendment. He championed the rights of the free Negro in the courts while trying to deny to him the ballot. And he was opposed to the state constitution of 1868 because it provided for manhood suffrage and public schools open to both races. Worth worked closely with General Sickles, but disliked General Canby. On the whole his administration was largely one of protest with few if any long-lasting achievements.

The author has treated his subject sympathetically and yet critically. The result is an excellent study of a minor state figure, which enlightens North Carolina's economic and political development and, incidentally, national problems during the period covered.

University of North Carolina

FLETCHER M. GREEN

JOHN P. HALE AND THE POLITICS OF ABOLITION. By *Richard H. Sewell*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 290. \$6.50.)

THIS competent and readable biography will be of greater interest to specialists on the antislavery movement than to historians and students generally. An easy-tempered, jocund, rotund lawyer who much preferred the give and take of courtroom repartee and the exhilaration of stump speaking before large crowds to the drudgery of preparing briefs or executing deeds of property, John P. Hale entered New Hampshire politics as a Jacksonian Democrat in 1832. After a decade of service as a state legislator and federal district attorney, Hale was elected to Congress as an orthodox Democrat in 1843. A convivial imbibor during his college days and a vigorous antiabolitionist in the 1830's, Hale later became, for reasons that are not altogether clear, a temperance champion and an antislavery advocate. In 1845 he broke with his party and voted against the annexation of Texas. The regular Democrats punished Hale for this act by denying him renomination for his congressional seat, but a coalition of New Hampshire Whigs, antislavery Democrats, and Liberty party men elected him to the US Senate in 1846. The Liberty party nominated him for the presidency in 1847, but he withdrew in favor of Martin Van Buren, the candidate of the Free-Soil coalition ticket in 1848. After making a futile bid for the White House as the nominee of the Free Democratic party in 1852, Hale retired from the Senate the following year, but was re-elected as a Republican in 1855. He served as chairman of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee during the Civil War and closed out his career as minister to Spain from 1865 to 1869.

This is the first full-length biography of Hale, but despite his role in the complex antislavery politics of the 1840's, skillfully delineated by Professor Sewell, it is clear that the neglect of Hale by earlier biographers was not entirely accidental. He was distinctly a second-rank politician; he had little talent for leadership, and

his prominence from 1845 to 1852 was largely the result of circumstances rather than ability. Hale faded into relative insignificance in the 1850's, and his tenure as chairman of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee was marked by a tawdry feud with Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles and a hint of scandal that caused Hale's removal from the committee chairmanship in 1864. The most valuable chapters of Sewell's study are those dealing with the rift in the New Hampshire Democratic party leading to the emergence of an antislavery coalition that sent Hale to the Senate in 1846. The later chapters covering Hale's career in national politics add little new on the conflict over slavery. Hale's role in this conflict was secondary during most of the period, and the story of his career after 1850 is only of marginal significance for an understanding of the growing sectional schism.

Princeton University

JAMES M. McPHERSON

LYMAN TRUMBULL: CONSERVATIVE RADICAL. By *Mark M. Krug*. (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1965. Pp. 370. \$7.50.)

BASED on research in numerous collections of personal papers, including a large collection of Trumbull Family Papers recently acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library, and written by one familiar with recent scholarship on the Civil War and Reconstruction, this second biography of Lyman Trumbull is much more satisfactory than the one by Horace White, published in 1913 (not 1917 as Dr. Krug states in his introduction). It does not alter the earlier view of Trumbull as an able constitutionalist, a man of principle and conscience, with limited popular appeal. It does, however, make him a more human and interesting person, and it gives him a place of leadership in the Senate somewhat more important than previously recognized. It contains no account of Trumbull's years on the Illinois Supreme Court nor of his extensive legal practice, but focuses on his political career.

The author describes Trumbull as "basically a conservative who at times advocated radical political and economic ideas and measures" and therefore calls him "a conservative radical." When faced with the attempt to destroy the Union he was a "radical and an extremist," opposing compromise and supporting a vigorous prosecution of the war, but he was not willing to abdicate what he regarded as the constitutional prerogatives of Congress. Trumbull is portrayed as a moderate on Reconstruction during 1865—"ready to support Johnson's policies of reconstruction provided that the South and the President would, in good faith, guarantee and secure the civil rights of Negroes and of Unionists in the ex-Confederate states"—a moderate who in 1866 was pushed into cooperation with the Radical minority by Johnson's support of white supremacy and his unwillingness to compromise with Congress.

In his discussion of some of the events with which Trumbull was connected the author fails to include enough facts to make the situation and the issues clear to the average reader. At times also he gives undue attention to newspaper opinion on political problems rather than on Trumbull himself. This is especially true of Chapter XIII, "One of the Recusant Senators," which virtually ignores the facts and issues of Johnson's impeachment and trial and concentrates on the changing views of the *Chicago Tribune* on the desirability of his conviction because these views *may* have influenced Trumbull.

Krug's lively style and many perceptive judgments make this volume a useful and welcome contribution. Therefore it is regrettable that it contains so many typographical and other careless errors—far more than any book is entitled to.

University of California, Los Angeles

BRAINERD DYER

FREEDOM AND FRANCHISE: THE POLITICAL CAREER OF B. GRATZ BROWN. By *Norma L. Peterson*. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1965. Pp. 252. \$6.50.)

BENJAMIN Gratz Brown was a minor political figure during a period of major political importance. His career in state and national politics spanned the two crucial decades from 1852 to 1872. A native Kentuckian, he spent virtually his entire adult life in Missouri, a follower of Thomas Hart Benton and alternately an associate and opponent of Frank Blair. Brown served his state as a state legislator, United States senator, and governor. In 1870 he helped organize Missouri's Liberal Republican revolt and two years later received the vice-presidential nomination on the national Liberal Republican ticket. In spite of this record, Brown's name is barely mentioned, if it is mentioned at all, in the standard texts and surveys of the period in which he was active. Even in his own state he seems to have received something less than full recognition. Yet Brown's career, as Professor Peterson points out, "illustrates the stresses to which the shifting tides of politics subjected men in public life during the years preceding and following the Civil War."

The author makes much of Brown's political shifts and inconsistencies. In the 1850's Brown identified with the Benton Democrats in Missouri, holding free-soil opinions and denouncing proslavery southerners and northern abolitionists. He later drifted into the Republican party, became an ardent advocate of immediate emancipation, and soon developed radical tendencies. In the Senate during the war, he was sharply critical of Lincoln; in Missouri, he became known as the "Prince of Radicals." Even as a Radical Republican, however, his politics frequently baffled his contemporaries. During the troubled years of Reconstruction Brown gradually parted company with the Radicals, and by 1870 he was leading the Liberal Republican attack against Radical policy. Brown was an early and determined supporter of Negro suffrage; the title of the book is derived from his statement that "freedom and franchise are inseparable."

Although Brown's inconsistency is a constant theme of Peterson's study, the author falls short in her analysis of the motives and forces that might account for the vagaries of his career. She is correct in pointing out that greater men than Brown had difficulty following a consistent political line during these years. Nonetheless, the study of a figure such as Brown, whose career was strongly anchored in local politics, should offer more insights into the character of American politics during the Civil War and Reconstruction than are presented here. Although the "complexity of politics" in both Missouri and in the nation is frequently alluded to and described, it is most often as a backdrop to Brown's activities rather than as a context in which Brown thought and acted. The question posed by the author in the preface ("Was inconsistency a characteristic of the 'blundering generation,' or was it an expression of 'pragmatism in politics'—of events controlling men rather than men controlling events?") is a very good one; unfortunately, she does not

offer us, through this study of Brown's career, many helpful clues for an answer.

This is a straightforward, highly factual biography. Peterson has been handicapped by what seems to be a lack of Brown's personal papers, but she has consulted a wide array of the papers of his contemporaries. She has relied heavily on secondary sources and on the files of the *Missouri Democrat*, which Brown edited for a time. As a result, she has succeeded in bringing a neglected figure into the light and has added a footnote to the story of Civil War and Reconstruction politics.

University of Illinois

ROBERT W. JOHANNSEN

DEVELOPMENT OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN MILWAUKEE. By
Thomas W. Gavett. (Madison and Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin Press.
1965. Pp. vi, 256. \$5.00.)

RELATIVELY few workers belonged to national unions before the 1930's. To know the others, historians must examine working-class life and organizations on a community level, but most labor historians shy away from "local" history. Thomas Gavett, an exception, describes the Milwaukee labor movement from 1847 to 1959, finds the post-1896 "alliance" between organized labor and the socialists there "a unique experiment in ideology," and seeks to explain its origins, effectiveness, and final dissolution. Gavett supplies some useful information about labor organizations and strikes, socialist leadership and influence, employer practices, AFL-CIO conflict, the cycle of Communist influence, and especially labor and socialist politics between 1877 and 1910. But the entire work is gravely deficient: poorly conceived, insufficiently researched, awkwardly organized, and crudely written.

Its main weakness and ultimate failure result from an inadequate conceptual framework. Concerned with the Milwaukee movement's uniqueness, Gavett employs methods that frustrate his objective. Much is written about the inner history of the "labor movement" but nothing about the inner history of Milwaukee (its changing economic institutions, complex social structure, and vital ethnic dimensions), and the obvious interplay between the two (except for the "German influence") is entirely neglected. The labor movement therefore "develops" in a historical vacuum. Exogenous events, about which the author offers textbook interpretations, are emphasized as crucial determinants—the rise of the Knights, the spread of socialism, the impact of progressivism, war, depression, and New Deal. National developments were important but not quite as simply as Gavett suggests. Milwaukee's particular history shaped that city's unique labor movement.

Such neglect makes for confused, poor history. "Conservative German-Americans . . . solidly" opposed labor in 1887, but the "German background of skilled laborers" assured the later socialist-labor alliance. Progressives and socialists were "the left and right wings of the Progressive revolt," but in 1912 progressive Republicans supported a fusion candidate and defeated the incumbent socialist mayor. Countless unidentified names, incomplete and incomprehensible events, and facile generalizations clutter and obscure the text. Widespread support for local labor and socialist candidates (1877, 1886, 1910) is noted but not who ran and who supported them. The author tells nothing of the "important block [*sic*] of Polish workers" and the apparent racism of the socialist influenced Federated Trades Council which rejected joining a 1916 preparedness parade and defended its patri-

otism. "The Pacific coast today would be an oriental colony . . . if the American working class had not stood for race purity and American civilization." If the "German influence" holds the key to Milwaukee's "uniqueness," what of the other immigrant groups and why the absence of similar developments among Buffalo and Cincinnati Germans? The loosely organized footnotes help no one.

State University of New York, Buffalo

HERBERT G. GUTMAN

THE RISE OF BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY. By *J. Orin Oliphant*. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1965. Pp. xii, 448. \$7.95.)

BUCKNELL, "a college miscalled a university," was founded in 1846 in a spirit of denominationalism, localism, and missionary zeal, early enough to fit the "old-time" college mold. Much in pace with other liberal arts colleges, it adopted electives, vocational subjects, fraternities, and football. Perpetually involved in fund drives, it changed its name to that of a businessman benefactor. In the 1920's it built too much and went into debt. Typically, too, gratitude once expressed for divine guidance has more recently been given for foundation grants and managerial surveys, and since World War II its faculty and students have grown increasingly involved in international education. Bucknell has, of course, had its individuality: a tradition of trustees becoming presidents and former presidents becoming trustees, a strong program in engineering, and a tenure case in which the ousted professor vainly sought a writ of quo warranto against his successor. For many years, Bucknell's library was smaller and its football activities bigger than those of its rivals.

Still, this is decidedly the story of a representative institution, and its author presents it as such. His persistent admission that Bucknell was not "at the top" (though always aspiring to be there) emphasizes its typicalness. Professor Oliphant traces the changing spirit of the college, its leaders and its students, with sure selection of incident and forthright interpretation. His writing is free from eccentricity, except for a vast overuse of "*inter alia*"—perhaps a historian's unconscious apology for leaving some things out. I recommend the book to those seeking the story of a representative American college, to specialists in the history of higher education, to Bucknell alumni, and to officials and committees at Bucknell requiring a compendium of past policies. Because Oliphant serves this last group so thoroughly, he burdens his other readers with passages that read like a college catalogue. Certain chapters are awash with statistics, and the book is overbalanced toward trustees and administration. But it is superior to most college histories and provides welcome evidence that educational historians now read and use each other's work.

Amherst College

HUGH HAWKINS

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF YALE: A BRIEF HISTORY. By *Edgar S. Furniss*. (New Haven, Conn.: Carl Purington Rollins Printing-Office for the Graduate School; distrib. by Yale Co-op, New Haven, Conn. 1965. Pp. xi, 181. \$5.00.)

In this volume the former dean of the Graduate School at Yale presents: a history of graduate education at his institution, in which Old Eli's claim to precedence,

already confirmed by the study of Richard Storr, is needlessly reargued; reminiscent accounts of some of Yale's important personages, the sample drawn from administrators and the effort suffering by comparison with the autobiography of the author's predecessor, Wilbur Cross; an analysis of the author's decanal office and a set of prescriptions for the Ph.D.—postcareer reflections that embody close experience and much common sense.

Bernard Berelson and others have pointed out that the graduate dean is like no other in that he has no control over budgets and appointments and usually only nominal authority over standards of admission and performance. Weak in relation to other powers, he is frequently in a poor position to resist the aggrandizement of the professional schools on the one hand and the rivalry of the departments on the other. Yale, as Furniss shows, empowered its graduate dean to withstand these horizontal and vertical pressures by periodically installing him in the provost's office, from which height he could influence the choice of personnel, and by granting him *ex officio* powers with respect to the award of fellowships and review of dissertation topics. His powerful position guarantees the integrity, if not the hegemony, of the graduate school.

Concerning the Ph.D., Furniss is both irreverent and conservative. He would drop the uniform language requirement, conceiving it to be a hurdle that has ceased to provide a research tool. He would ask of a dissertation that it display a beginner's competence, believing that a higher expectation conforms to an outmoded myth. But he would hold the line against changes suggested by the growing demand for college teachers: he would not convert the research-centered graduate school into an institute for teacher training; he would not attenuate the quality of its student body by greatly increasing its enrollment—or at least he would not do these things at Yale. His prescriptions are antidotes to pretense, but not revolutionary cures.

Columbia University

WALTER P. METZGER

THE UNHAPPY MEDIUM: SPIRITUALISM AND THE LIFE OF MARGARET FOX. By *Earl Wesley Fornell*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1964. Pp. x, 204. \$5.00.)

"It's a fraud! Spiritualism is a fraud from beginning to end! It's all a trick. There's no truth in it," cried Margaret Fox (1836–1893) before a large audience in New York's Academy of Music on the evening of October 21, 1888, forty years after she and her sister Katherine began to communicate with the spirits of the departed in their home in up-State New York. The audience had come to hear the renowned medium denounce spiritualism from the platform after the *New York World* had published earlier that day the story of her life. Margaret Fox's exposé, which she later denied out of "stark necessity and the ever urgent need to buy wine," stimulated an ephemeral public interest. It of course did not bring an end to spiritualism; for, as Alice Felt Tyler noted in *Freedom's Ferment*, "no question has been more persistent in the human mind than that of immortality, and some form of spiritualism, or attempt at contact with the spirit world, has appeared in many countries and among people in all stages of civilization."

Professor Fornell of Lamar State College of Technology has written this volume "as a brief account of a few episodes arising out of the interesting flowering

of a strange cult during the last half of the nineteenth century." He has provided a quite readable, well-documented work dealing with such topics as "The Rochester Rappings," "The Ghost in the Astor Library," "Congress and Spiritualism," "Spirits in the Courts," and "The Haunted Halls of Learning." In addition there is a fascinating account of the courtship of Dr. Elisha Kent Kane, the famous naval surgeon and Arctic explorer, and Margaret Fox and their "half-way marriage" in 1856.

Although the author has not written a biography of Fox, the book would have been enhanced if he had been able to render a clearer delineation of the character and personality of the initiator of modern spiritualism. Perhaps he also should have accorded Margaret's sister Katherine more attention than he did.

These minor blemishes aside, Fornell has given the general reader as well as the student of social history a brief but satisfactory account of the interest in and the extent of spiritualism in this country during the latter half of the nineteenth century. He has not attempted, however, "to evaluate the influence of this cult upon the social and political history of the United States or its effect upon the fundamental religious faith of millions of Americans. . . ."

The book includes a bibliography, an index, and illustrations.

Montgomery Junior College

WILLIAM LLOYD FOX

PRELUDE TO WORLD POWER: AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY, 1860-1900. By *Foster Rhea Dulles*. [History of American Foreign Policy Series.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1965. Pp. viii, 238. \$5.95.)

"Designed for the nonspecialist" and "uncluttered with scholarly apparatus," as the publisher observes on the dust cover, Foster Rhea Dulles' most recent synthesis is an interestingly written account that will unveil few surprises for the reader who learned his American history before 1955. Seward's April 1, 1861, note is wholly viewed as a product of Seward's "arrogant self-assurance"; Grover Cleveland "never" approved "an expansionist policy, as has so repeatedly been demonstrated"; William McKinley "simply did not have the qualities that made for really effective leadership on the national stage"; "economic considerations had little to do with the popular sentiment" that led to war in 1898; imperialists so bitterly fought anti-imperialists that no note need be made of their many common assumptions regarding expansion; and it was merely "irony" that "idealism" before 1898 resulted in "imperialism" after 1898 and that a war for Cuba ended in the annexation of the Philippines. In sum, "the United States had almost in spite of itself become a great power well before the close of the century."

These points are at least questionable. Other aspects of this book, however, could badly mislead the reader. These include the absence of any analysis of the pivotal tariff issue; little mention of the 1890's depression and its economic, political, and psychological implications for diplomacy; the belief that the "immediate origins" of the Open Door policy can be traced back almost solely to Alfred E. Hippisley and William W. Rockhill; the statement that if the United States had not annexed the Philippines "the Open Door policy" of the State Department "might not have [been] initiated"; and the failure to mention the American colonial policy in Cuba from 1898 to 1902, which climaxed in the Platt Amendment.

Dulles superbly sketches the backgrounds of key events, especially those of the French intervention in Mexico, the Burlingame Treaty, and the opening of Korea. He suggestively notes that Cleveland's first administration was "alert to the broader commercial and strategic interests of the United States in the Pacific." Perhaps the following is his most provocative statement: "Over and above everything else in accounting for the new position in world affairs" that the United States enjoyed in 1895 "and that would be further bolstered by the century's close, was its economic and industrial growth." But Dulles refuses to follow the consequences of this remark by quickly dissociating the business community "in general" from pre-1898 expansion and reaffirming that "economic considerations" had little to do with the war's causes.

This volume, like several other histories recently written for the nonspecialist, raises vital questions. Do sinewy prose and the refusal to ride a thesis to death allow the professional historian to write such readable prose that he dangerously oversimplifies, or to proclaim no thesis while actually riding hard on several that are decades-old? If so, then perhaps such books should be left only for the specialist who, unlike the nonspecialist, is at least in a position to discriminate.

Cornell University

WALTER LAFEBER

CONNECTICUT FOR THE UNION: THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN THE CIVIL WAR. By *John Niven*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1965. Pp. xviii, 493. \$10.00.)

ALLEN Nevins' foreword to this volume characterizes it as "one of the fullest, best proportioned, and most penetrating of all the state records of the war." It is a well-merited appraisal of Niven's study. The book has been authorized by the Connecticut Civil War Centennial Commission and carries the signed imprimatur of the heads of that group.

Niven divides his study into five parts. First he gives an illuminating summary of the conditions in Connecticut during the years just prior to 1861 and in the months before and after the firing on Fort Sumter. Next he summarizes the military contributions of Connecticut to the Union cause. Parts III and IV deal, respectively, with the human and material resources of the home front. Finally there is a summary of the readjustments necessary after the return of peace in 1865.

To me the most noteworthy sections were the first, third, and fourth. It is fascinating to learn in detail of the conditions in Connecticut as the nation drifted into civil conflict in 1861, and it is equally interesting to observe how the people and industrial system of the state responded to the demands of the war. In the many annotations one finds names of such eminent future educators as Cyrus Northrop and Homer B. Sprague, such writers as Charles Dudley Warner, and such notable public figures as Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles and Governor William A. Buckingham. Buckingham was almost as useful to Lincoln as Jonathan Trumbull had been to Washington in the Revolution. Welles brought the US Navy to the highest level of efficiency it had ever attained in its history to that time. Other Connecticut soldiers and civilians made significant contributions to northern victory.

Some minor lapses occur in the military portions of the book, but these should

not in any serious way detract from the superb quality of Niven's work. It has an admirable bibliography, good maps, a comprehensive index, and meticulous footnotes. The printing and binding are a credit to Yale University Press. All in all, it is one of the outstanding Civil War books produced during the centennial just concluded.

Colby Junior College

J. DUANE SQUIRES

REHEARSAL FOR RECONSTRUCTION: THE PORT ROYAL EXPERIMENT. By *Willie Lee Rose*. With an introduction by *C. Vann Woodward*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1964. Pp. xviii, 442. \$6.50.)

RARE is the student of social history who has not at one time or another envied his anthropologist colleagues. They can spend months or even years actually living among the people they have chosen to study. A single tribe or village can furnish them with an experimental situation in which they may broaden and deepen their knowledge of the forces that have molded tribal and village life in general.

The social historian is not so fortunate. A vivid diary, a particularly informative set of letters, a good newspaper are often as close as he can hope to come to his people; seldom can he do the kind of minutely focused investigation that might be described, if only metaphorically, as a representative sample of some larger historical reality.

But Willie Lee Rose's book is the rare and delightful exception. A sensitive, perceptive, and beautifully written account of the transition from slavery to freedom on the Sea Islands of South Carolina, it may also be called a study of Reconstruction in miniature.

The Sea Islands were captured by the Union Navy in November 1861, and ten thousand slaves found themselves without masters. Abolitionist circles in the North, encouraged by Secretary Chase, quickly sensed a unique opportunity to force the government's hand on emancipation. They would demonstrate that, given a limited amount of help and guidance, the Negroes would in short order prove fully able to take care of themselves. Supported by the leading abolitionists in the East, Edward Pierce, the future biographer of Charles Sumner, collected fifty-three dedicated volunteers, and in early March this group, now known as "Gideon's Band," arrived at Port Royal.

Fully aware of the implications of their mission, and often quite articulate, the Gideonites left a detailed account of their experiences in diaries, letters, books, articles, and official reports, all of which the author exploits with exceptional skill. She sets the scene, briefly introduces us to each of her "informants," and then shrewdly allows them to tell their own stories. We see the crude emotionalism of Negro religion, the pathetic ignorance of the former slaves, their passionate determination to learn to read and write, their occasional dishonesty, and finally their surprising (sometimes downright annoying) independence, through the eyes of the northern volunteers.

The most pressing problems, the same ones the entire South would face immediately after the war—relief, the resumption of cotton production, the establishment of schools, and the adjustment of the Negro to his new status as a free man—were met, and, despite difficulties, resolved successfully. The single glaring

exception was land for the former slaves. The Gideonites were not entirely clear in their own minds as to just how the Negro was to become a landowner. Some felt he should be allowed to take over his former master's land at a nominal price; others believed he should be encouraged to buy his land with the money he had earned as a free laborer. One volunteer, Edward Philbrick, was afraid that if the Negro received land too early and too easily, he would never learn to produce cotton as cheaply or efficiently as he had under slavery. On the other hand Rufus Saxton, the military commander of the area, did what he could to secure firm title for the Negroes to the land they had been cultivating. But when the war ended, President Johnson would decide to return to the original owners all lands that had not been sold for taxes.

We may question the success of the Gideonites' experiment, just as we may question the success of Reconstruction, but the evidence upon which we make up our minds has been rendered a substantial shade clearer than it was. The records that the Gideonites left have provided the raw material for a brilliant study with implications extending far beyond the Sea Islands.

Smith College

STANLEY M. ELKINS

HERE COME THE REBELS! By *Wilbur Sturtevant Nye*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 412. \$7.95.)

THE rebels are Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, and this book is the most detailed history available of their military operations from the May 1863 decision to invade Pennsylvania to the eve of the Battle of Gettysburg, and of the Federal military reaction, by both the Army of the Potomac and the various emergency units raised to resist invasion. Since Colonel Nye stops short of Gettysburg, the battles he describes were not great ones, but there is much of interest for the Civil War historian in the North's gropings to respond to a Confederate offensive that its leaders were slow to understand, and for the student of American military institutions in the raising of home defense forces when the Army of the Potomac temporarily failed to serve as the shield of the North. Nye has relied most heavily upon the *Official Records*, supplemented with printed accounts by participants and regimental histories, and to a lesser but adequate extent with manuscript materials, largely Pennsylvania sources from the path of the invasion. His descriptions of combat are enhanced by unusual and valuable notes relating present-day landmarks to the course of action. Readers familiar with the battle-field maps he has prepared for other works will not be surprised by his uncommonly keen perception of the influence of terrain upon tactics.

Though most of the book is concerned with figures of relatively minor importance to the total history of the war, several major characters appear in revealing moments of stress and decision. Nye is more charitable than most writers in judging Jeb Stuart's ride around the Federal army, offering thoughtful observations on the difficulties of any other route that Stuart might have followed north. Stuart's Federal counterpart, Alfred Pleasonton, comes off less well, as a cavalryman whose reconnaissances brought back the information he thought his superiors wanted to hear. Along with Pleasonton, Joseph Hooker, Henry W. Halleck, and Edwin M. Stanton earn low marks for their ability to discern Confeder-

ate intentions in the early phases of the campaign. Slow to recognize that Lee was embarking on a major thrust into eastern Pennsylvania, Stanton was also slow to encourage a workable plan for recruiting emergency forces for the invasion, although Nye's unflattering account of the War Secretary's policies may give insufficient weight to a concern lest he restore the state governments to the exaggerated military roles they had played in 1861. Even so detailed a history of their activities has to stop short of any but a superficial judgment on the military merits of the emergency troops, since, happily, they got little chance to fight. Nevertheless, Nye has shown that a writer willing to take pains with his research can still find stimulating material in one of the most frequently studied campaigns of the war.

Temple University

RUSSELL F. WEIGLEY

THE ERA OF RECONSTRUCTION, 1865-1877. By *Kenneth M. Stampp*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1965. Pp. ix, 228, iv. \$4.95.)

For the general reader this is the best book ever published on the Reconstruction period. For the many Americans whose knowledge of the post-Civil War years is derived from books like Claude G. Bowers' *The Tragic Era*, Professor Stampp's "brief political history of reconstruction" will be full of surprises. Here is no tale of how malignant Radicals overturned the generous Reconstruction policy of Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson and set up wicked, corrupt, Negro dominated regimes in the conquered South. Instead, Stampp depicts Lincoln as a shrewd politician whose plan for the South was probably aimed at linking northern moderate Republicans and southern former Whigs in a "national party of political conservatives," and he paints Johnson as a weak and vacillating man who "romanticized the self-sufficient yeoman farmer" and "practiced the politics of nostalgia." The Radical Republicans, so harshly condemned by a previous generation of historians, appear to Stampp to be members of "the last great crusade of the nineteenth-century romantic reformers." Discrediting "the idea of a vast conspiracy between the radical phalanx and a solid corps of capitalists to use reconstruction and Negro rights as a smoke screen to conceal a carefully planned program of economic aggrandizement," he argues that "a genuine desire to do justice to the Negro . . . was one of the mainsprings of radicalism." The governments set up in the South under Radical sponsorship suffered "more or less from the incompetence of some, the dishonesty of a few, and above all the inexperience of most of the officeholders," yet their constitutions included "some modest reforms, most of which were long overdue," and they "expanded the state railroad systems, increased the public services, and provided public school systems." But by the 1870's, when northern "Republicans no longer needed the votes of southern Negroes," their party abandoned the southern experiment, and Reconstruction came to an end. For the time "the idealistic aim of the radicals to make the emancipation of the Negroes something more than an empty gesture" had failed, but in the long run the principles of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, "which could have been adopted only under the conditions of radical reconstruction, make the blunders of that era, tragic though they were, dwindle into insignificance."

Such, in outline, is the new version of Reconstruction, and it has never before

been sketched with such succinctness, clarity, and eloquence. Above all, *The Era of Reconstruction* is a judicious and fair-minded study, which throughout recognizes "that the history of an age is seldom simple and clear-cut, seldom without its tragic aspects, seldom without its redeeming virtues." In his picture of the Radical Republicans, for example, Stampp avoids both excoriation and whitewashing; he recognizes that their motives were mixed, combining vindictiveness, political opportunism, and a desire to promote the business interests of the region they represented, but he concludes that on the whole "the radicals were, if anything, somewhat *less* opportunistic in their purposes and a little *more* candid in their public utterances than the average American politician has been." Similarly he avoids either belittling or exaggerating the accomplishments of the Radical governments in the South.

If the general reader will find much in *The Era of Reconstruction* that is startlingly new, the specialist in the period will necessarily find much that is familiar, for, though the book rests at a number of points upon the author's own original researches, it is largely a synthesis of revisionist scholarship published during the past twenty-five years. Like his fellow revisionists, Stampp is better in discussing the first two years of the Reconstruction era than in dealing with the decade that followed, and he traces developments in Washington and in the South more fully than he deals with political and economic changes in the North and West. Where Reconstruction scholars are sharply at odds, Stampp tends to be eclectic, finding merit in rival and antagonistic interpretations. Thus he concludes that southern scalawags were "an absurd coalition of class-conscious poor whites and yeoman farmers who hated the planters, and class-conscious Whig planters and businessmen who disliked the egalitarian Democrats."

Already familiar with the general pattern Stampp traces, the specialist in the Reconstruction era will be most interested in the original interpretations which, almost as brief "asides," are sprinkled through the book, and he will long for fuller discussion of these points. Thus he would like to see what evidence Stampp has mustered to prove his theses that Lincoln's "efforts to treat the South with the utmost generosity reflected, in part, his desire for personal absolution" for having precipitated war in 1861 and that Johnson was swayed by the social blandishments showered upon him by southern planter-politicians seeking pardon. He will wish for factual details to support Stampp's conclusion, more plausible than that of C. Vann Woodward, which it directly contradicts, that the Johnson provisional governments introduced "the whole pattern of . . . discrimination, and segregation" into the postwar South and for fuller exegesis of the interesting suggestion that "Johnson's removal [from the presidency] would more likely have been a curiosity of American political history than a precedent for future action."

But it would be unfair to expect elaborate treatment of these and other debatable points in such a brief book, which, as the author modestly admits, is principally designed "to give more general currency to the findings of scholars during the past few decades." This is one of the few cases where a reviewer can report that the author has precisely fulfilled his purpose. It is earnestly to be hoped that this good-tempered, thoughtful book will reach a wide general public at this critical time, when all Americans so urgently need a correct understanding of the history of our race relations.

Johns Hopkins University

DAVID DONALD

THE LOST CAUSE: THE CONFEDERATE EXODUS TO MEXICO. By *Andrew F. Rolle*. With a foreword by *A. L. Rowse*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 248. \$5.95.)

THAT the collapse of the Confederate States produced a respectable number of displaced persons has often been noted, especially in periodical literature and in biographies of the displaced persons themselves. But there has been little in the way of a definitive effort in this field, and it is pleasant to encounter one here.

Professor Rolle's research has been wide and deep and has characteristically carried him into unexpected places. One suspects, however, that the digestion of his material has involved even greater difficulty, for it cannot be said that the book is marked by particularly smooth organization. This is hardly the author's fault; it stems from the nature of the Confederate exodus to Mexico, which was, to say the least, haphazard.

Certainly the principal figures in the affair were diverse; it would be difficult to discover two more varied personalities than General Joseph Shelby and Commodore Matthew Fontaine Maury, while such figures as Sterling Price and "Prince John" Magruder were individualists in their own right. On the Mexican side of the story there is, of course, special chaos—and people every bit as varied as the Confederates. The general effect is kaleidoscopic: the reader is constantly carried back and forth across the Rio Grande, to and from the city of Mexico, up and down the face of the Sierra Madre, in and out of the Reconstruction South. One occasionally finds it difficult to keep his bearings, and the single map provided, though small in scale and meager in detail, is distinctly welcome. There also is a tendency to interlard the story with earlier southern designs upon northwestern Mexico and "Arizona," and at one point the reader is given the impression that the Mexican state of Sonora lies directly across the Rio Grande from Eagle Pass, Texas.

Probably the best feature of this book is its vivid portrayal of the inadequacies of Maximilian's empire. That its existence was based solely upon the presence of French troops is made perfectly obvious, and though the well-known good intentions of the Emperor are reasserted, his personal inability to select and carry through a definite policy is a major theme. He certainly did not have the knack of handling the multifarious Confederates, whose North American presumptions proved quite beyond his ken. Nor did many of the southerners enjoy special success in appealing to him.

Finally, Rolle makes it clear that the Confederate hegira to Mexico was no more than an intriguing episode in the disintegration of the southern effort at independence, of no lasting importance to the South, to Mexico, or to the emigrants themselves. Their bid for a Latin American Dixie could no more stand up to the dominant Indo-Hispanic ethos than could a Habsburg's dream of an enlightened empire. Mexico would presently, in the Díaz era, be profoundly affected by Anglo-Saxons, but this development would bear little relation to the Stars and Bars.

Trinity College

ROBERT C. BLACK III

THE KU KLUX KLAN: A CENTURY OF INFAMY. By *William Pierce Randel*. (Philadelphia: Chilton Books. 1965. Pp. xvii, 300. \$5.95.)

THE KU KLUX KLAN IN THE SOUTHWEST. By *Charles C. Alexander*. ([Lexington:] University of Kentucky Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 288. \$6.00.)

As the equal rights movement gathers momentum, the history of American race relations is coming under increasing scrutiny. Particular interest is focusing on the Ku Klux Klan, which, having replaced the politicians as the most forceful spokesman for segregationist frustration, is enjoying greater immunity from the law than it has had in many years. This has meant that message books aimed for a popular audience are reaching the market along with the scholarly production of the historians who a decade ago belatedly began turning their attention to the Klan of the 1920's.

Professor Randel's book is beautifully produced, passionately written, and curiously conceived and organized. It is, primarily, a jeremiad on the Anglo-Saxon spirit of racism, which has been responsible for the Ku Klux Klan. Randel correctly points out that the Reconstruction Klan was a political instrument, used to maintain a racial caste system, and that it did its work well. The "Redeemers" of the South came back into office, not through the augmentation of their own vote, but by the use of violence, which reduced Republican totals.

The book relentlessly confronts the reader with the bloody record of Klan floggings, torture, mutilation, rape, and murder, of how the "choicest Southern manhood" took part—sparing neither women nor children—and how generations of authors, editors, and historians have justified this terror. In sum Randel presents the white, not the Negro, as being lawless, immoral, and characterized by a low jungle "cunning," and the real question becomes one of the capacity of southern whites, and many northern historians, for freedom and self-government. The prime message and value of Randel's book lie in underlining the great truth that blood also stains the hands of "good people" who condone violence by accepting it.

The instrument that Randel chooses to convey his message is an erratically worked one. Two-thirds of his book is concerned with Reconstruction, but nothing is systematic except the reporting of violence. His South is indivisible and undifferentiated, and the reader cannot expect to find more than casual and occasional relationship between the Klan, and class, geographic, economic, political, cultural (other than WASPish ones), and chronological factors and frames. The account of Reconstruction skips over Texas and Arkansas, all but ignores Tennessee, which probably had the most Klansmen, and deliberately excludes Alabama.

When he comes to the twentieth-century Klan, the author loses all control over his material. The chapters become such a jumble that they seem to be pages of a scrapbook, pasted with a desperate haste that allowed no time to consider their order and meaning.

There has long been need for a history of the Reconstruction Klan to replace Stanley F. Horn's account of his jolly, hooded pranksters. Randel has supplied a forceful antidote without filling that need. It is important that we face the violence inherent in caste relationships and the degree to which we all share responsibility for what organizations such as the Klan really do, but in a world in which the Bernard Weisbergers, John Hope Franklins, and others have replaced the William Dunning, historians will find little new in Randel's book.

On the other hand, Professor Alexander's study of the Klan of the twenties in

Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Louisiana is a useful example of almost everything that a monograph should be. Apart from a disinclination to deal with personality, he thoroughly canvasses all possible sources to present a clear, thoughtful, and comprehensive analysis of his subject. This book, E. H. Loucks' *The Ku Klux Klan in Pennsylvania* (1936), and Alexander's own earlier writing on Texas offer the only satisfactory specialized state and regional Klan histories for the 1920's.

The distinctive characteristics of the Southwest Klans are explained as the product of local social disorder and a traditional tendency toward violence that overshadowed a surprisingly mild nativism. In his excellent development of John M. Mecklin's original emphasis on urban value disorganization, which Alexander characterizes as "rural-mindedness," and of "moral absolutism," he underestimates the prevalence of these phenomena elsewhere. This is not important, however, to his well-presented basic thesis, which helps to correct the widespread misimpression that the Klan did not thrive in the nation's cities. The author's account of Oklahoma politics and the career of the state's ill-fated, impetuous governor, Jack Walton, is particularly good, and the Klan's inner corruption and incompetence are soundly presented as the major factor in its own eventual decline.

Like Arnold Rice (*AHR*, LXVIII [Oct. 1962], 257), whom he uses, and Randel, Alexander would have been better advised to avoid making his study "current" by commenting on more recent periods on which he has not fully focused his excellent talents.

University of Florida

DAVID M. CHALMERS

NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN STUDIES. Volume XXII. (Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association. 1965. Pp. 256. \$4.00.)

Dr. Kenneth Bjork, in editing this volume, offers a précis of its contents in the foreword: separate studies of art, music, writers, lecturers, America letters, community life in Waupaca County, Wisconsin, and a highly savory excursion into the kitchen of a Dakota farm before modern condiments. The several articles reach the high standards required by the Norwegian-American Historical Association and fittingly are accompanied by praise from Walter Muir Whitehill whose study of local historical societies has served as a basis of comparison for such organizations. Dr. Marion John Nelson's description of Lars Christenson's wood altar carvings furnishes a fine example of research into both Norwegian and American traditions of religious art. Gerhard M. Cartford's article on music in the Norwegian church delves into another aspect of this subject. A third item is the extensive narrative of Kristofer Janson's lecture tour of the United States and his reception and rejection by the orthodox Lutherans of the Midwest. Of more recent vintage is Endre Bergsagel's account of pioneering in Montana after the turn of the century and his revisit with its final note of pathos. The America letters are traditional, adding their small bit to the history of Norwegian-American immigration studies. But the best, from a personal view, was the description, replete with smells and memories, of the kitchen art of the Norwegian pioneer home in Wells County, North Dakota, where these dishes and methods of preparation are shared in mem-

ory from a farm in Kansas. A bibliographical survey of recent publications by Beulah Folkedahl concludes the volume.

No specific comment could be made concerning the total volume, for each article stands by itself as a singular contribution to the history of the Midwest and the Scandinavian immigrant in either city or country. It is a field that, despite all that is written, can be yet examined for its valuable comment on the historic past of the melting pot.

California State College, Long Beach

RAYMOND E. LINDGREN

THE TRANSPORTATION FRONTIER: TRANS-MISSISSIPPI WEST, 1865-1890. By *Oscar Osburn Winther*. [Histories of the American Frontier.] (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1964. Pp. xiv, 224. \$4.50.)

RECENT alarm over the health of western history as a field of study has substance. A subject that was once the touchstone of American historical thought now seems to lack relevance and sophistication, to repel rather than attract imagination and intellect. In the quest for a cure, the ambitious "Histories of the American Frontier" series assumes unusual importance as a guide to the condition and prospects of the subject. The series as a whole is traditional in purpose and form, and therefore possibly nearer the ailment than the remedy, but it is already apparent that individual volumes may vary widely in what they imply for the larger subject. The first, Rodman Paul's *Mining Frontiers of the Far West*, showed that western topics still challenge the original and sophisticated scholar. In the second volume, *The Transportation Frontier*, Oscar Winther follows more conventional paths, synthesizing a traditional subject and amending some of its details, but leaving it generally in the intellectual condition it has known for several decades.

Winther's contribution is reflected in both his definition and treatment of the subject. The title of the book only partially describes its contents. Geographically, its subject is really the trans-Missouri West. Chronologically, it is largely a study of the 1860's, which, with the 1850's, seem to the author the "frontier" period. There is nearly as much attention to pre-1860 as to post-1870 events, although it is one of Winther's major contributions to fill in the outlines of the subject for the neglected later period. Topically, the author examines selected aspects of transportation. With the curious exception of seagoing traffic, he discusses in turn all forms of transportation from covered wagons to railroads and bicycles, stressing chiefly the railroad. He describes at length the principal routes, the technology of each conveyance, and the experience of using it. Comments on western cities at the outset and scattered references to governmental action are intriguing but all too fragmentary, and there is no systematic notice of the political, financial, managerial, economic, or demographic facets of transportation. The treatment is descriptive rather than analytical or interpretive. In sum, the book is primarily a topographical, technological, and social description of western transportation in the 1860's.

Winther executes the task as he defines it in a convenient and authoritative manner. He is a master of the conventional materials of the subject, and he sets down the results of his long and faithful study in compact, comprehensive, and reliable form. The prose is lucid and agreeably sprinkled with anecdotes, but not

exciting. The book is a substantial monument to older fashions in western history. Those who are concerned for the health of the subject are not likely to find in it much help in prescribing cures, but they may appreciate it as a worthy example of the subject's present condition.

University of Wyoming

WALLACE D. FARNHAM

EXPLORATION OF ALASKA, 1865-1900. By *Morgan B. Sherwood*. [Yale Western Americana Series, Number 7.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 207, 41 plates. \$6.50.)

STUDENTS of Alaskan history and geography have long desired a systematic account of the expeditions that first mapped the trails and camps, the valleys and streams, the glaciers and mountains of Alaska. The present volume goes far toward fulfilling that need for the period 1865-1900, during which the major reconnaissances of the great interior valleys of the Yukon and Kuskokwim were carried out. Little had been done by the Russians to explore the interior, although the coasts were well known. The map of the interior was to be filled in by the United States Geological Survey in the decades following 1900, when this book closes.

Dr. Sherwood has meticulously gone over the United States government documents; beyond that, he has turned up a substantial amount of hitherto unused manuscript material in various archives. The principal exception I would take to his selection of expeditions for study is his omission of the International Polar Year Expedition to Point Barrow, 1881-1883. The discussion of William Healey Dall's controversy with Henry Elliott regarding the resources of Alaska and the role of the Alaska Commercial Company as the territory's dominant monopoly is a significant contribution to Alaskan historiography. Equally significant is new material on Ivan Petroff, who prepared the Tenth Census reports on Alaska (1880), and who contributed substantially to H. H. Bancroft's *History of Alaska* (1885). *Caveat lector!*

The important role that the federal government played in Alaskan exploration underscores many of the conclusions reached by Sherwood's mentor, A. Hunter Dupree, in his *Science in the Federal Government*. This is in distinct contrast to the government's reluctance during the same period to finance exploration in the Arctic. The key role of the Smithsonian Institution in recommending scientifically trained observers, in encouraging systematic observations, and in supplying adequate apparatus is again demonstrated (see my *Arctic Frontiers*).

While the earlier expeditions often used Indians and half-breeds for guides, it is clear that by the 1890's most expeditions were following in the footsteps of prospectors and natives. As Nevins said of Frémont, they were "pathmarkers." The individual explorer who has gained most in stature through this study is Henry T. Allen.

This is an important volume in the growing literature of our forty-ninth state. It has merit not only as an account of the opening up of Alaska but also as a demonstration of the wealth of topics awaiting detailed treatment.

Stanislaus State College

JOHN E. CASWELL

THE WIRE THAT FENCED THE WEST. By *Frances T. and Henry D. McCallum*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 285. \$5.95.)

HENRY McCallum is a petroleum geologist who became intrigued by the many varieties of barbed wire that he found during the course of his work in the American Southwest. Collection led to historical research. Frances McCallum, a creative writer, placed her skills at her husband's service, and this book resulted. Over a hundred pages discuss "Barbed-Wire Fence-Makers," providing a history of the industry, terminating in the formation of the United States Steel Corporation; a long section dealing with "Barbed-Wire Fence-Builders" follows; and the last three chapters touch on modern developments and present a system of classifying barbed wire as well as historical sketches of thirty-six important patent types of wire.

The invention of barbed wire was an important event in agricultural history, and the discussion of patents and the gradual changes in the product covered in this book are interesting and useful. The illustrations are either handsome or instructive. Commendable though it is in conception, the study is not the definitive work on the introduction and use of barbed wire in America. Part One merely links together dramatic incidents and colorful sketches of Jacob Haish, Joseph Glidden, and other leading figures of the industry and gives an inadequate picture of the innovative savings enjoyed by farmers and ranchers, the industry's market structure, its production problems, and even its vicious corporate battles and patent fights prior to 1901, although the authors say much about the last two subjects. Part Two provides a thin history of the range cattle industry and the impact of barbed wire upon it, particularly emphasizing developments in the Southwest and the experiences of a few large cattlemen. Barbed wire was, after all, an outgrowth of technological advances in the steel industry, and the American variety was invented primarily to meet the needs of midwestern farmers, though benefiting farmers and ranchers generally. The emphasis of this book on the Southwest and on the cattle ranges warps historical reality.

The jacket contention that "barbed wire changed not only American but world-wide concepts of enclosure" seems to be a fair summary of the McCallum position. Unfortunately such an assertion requires qualification and a discussion of enclosure practices and fencing laws that the book does not provide. Manuscript collections are cited sparingly, and extended passages of the narrative rest apparently on a few secondary works.

University of Wisconsin

ALLAN G. BOGUE

BOSS TWEED'S NEW YORK. By *Seymour J. Mandelbaum*. [New Dimensions in History: Historical Cities.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1965. Pp. ix, 196. Cloth \$5.95, paper \$2.65.)

THIS often provocative book makes a contribution to the political and administrative history of New York City from 1866 to 1878. By 1866 the Tweed Ring had begun to exert the influence and engage in the activities that led to its downfall five years later. From 1871 to 1878 city politics were affected by the maneuvers of "reform" groups and of an allegedly purged Tammany, now led by "Honest" John Kelly; in 1878 Kelly was repudiated, with the victory of an anti-Tammany

element that for a time thereafter became the "regular" Democratic organization. Mr. Mandelbaum stresses the point, not new but often overlooked, that Tweed's development program (in terms of streets, docks, sewers, and bridges) promised the achievement of needed improvements, albeit bought at the price of favors for the machine. He pictures the reformers, after 1871, as so obsessed by the desire for economy as to deprive New York of effective government and essential development under municipal auspices. He sees the inadequacies of communication as a major reason for the city's administrative difficulties in this period and for the absence of a community consensus that might have made effective government possible without the "cash pay-off" of the Tweed regime.

The chief personalities of the period are presented primarily in the context of this pattern of interpretation. Tweed becomes "a master communicator," uniting "the elements in a divided society in the only manner in which they could be united: by paying them off." Mayor William F. Havemeyer, advocate of retrenchment, "had neither the corrupt motives nor the honest vision to act effectively." Andrew H. Green, the reformers' appointee to the influential office of comptroller, is pictured as "allied with 'reform' groups whose principal concern was the expansion of minority power in city politics in order to cut the public budget." "Honest" John Kelly becomes the victim of his honesty, attempting to achieve "communication" without the "pay-off" by efforts to centralize Tammany organization at the expense of the ward bosses while at the same time adopting an "economy and reform stance" designed to win the respect of the business community. These interpretations, while suggestive, are unduly one dimensional and point to the need for full-scale biographies of Green, Havemeyer, and Kelly, as well as for a more systematic coverage of the activities of Tammany, its opponents, and the various administrative agencies in this confusing period. Mandelbaum contributes useful information and thoughtful insights even if he fails to clear up all the confusion. In the interest of clarity, the manuscript would have benefited from rigorous editing. The author, impressed with communications theory, at times has his own difficulties of communication, and there are far too many typographical errors in the finished product to go unnoticed.

New York University

BAYRD STILL

THE GERMAN HISTORICAL SCHOOL IN AMERICAN SCHOLARSHIP: A STUDY IN THE TRANSFER OF CULTURE. By *Jurgen Herbst*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1965. Pp. xvii, 262. \$5.75.)

THE influence of the German historical school on American scholarship in the late nineteenth century has often been acknowledged, but never subjected to careful investigation. This book, therefore, fills an important gap. On the basis of the published writings of five German-trained American social scientists who played a significant role in the establishment of graduate studies in this country—Herbert B. Adams, John W. Burgess, Richard T. Ely, Albion Small, and Francis G. Peabody—Professor Herbst undertakes to study the rise and decline of the German historical school of social science in the United States from the founding of Johns Hopkins University in 1876 to the outbreak of the First World War. He is less concerned with the narrow question of German influences than with the broader problem of the transfer of German ideas and institutions into an American setting, the reasons for the failure of the German historical school to maintain its

dominating influence over American scholarship in the social sciences, and the emergence of an American social science.

Herbst sees the influence of the German historical school on two levels. The German-trained American social scientists made the German university the model for their successful reorganization of American institutions of higher learning. The gentleman-scholar gave way to the specialist; the graduate school took its place at the side of the liberal arts college; professional organizations and journals were founded; the seminar was introduced; and methods of philological and historical criticism were adopted. On another level, that of ideas, the transfer was less successful. The theoretical basis of the historical school rested on what Herbst has described as the empirical idealism of Wilhelm von Humboldt and Leopold von Ranke, which assumed that the phenomenal world was merely a reflection of the great ideas and forces underlying history and that a strictly historical method that approached institutions and social norms in terms of their concrete individuality and avoided generalizations was the sole valid approach to the study of human affairs. In Herbst's opinion, Adams and Burgess were guided by this idealism in their attempt to make history into a rigidly scientific discipline; Small and Ely adopted the idealistic conception of the state in their critique of laissez-faire doctrine. Herbst ascribes the failure of the historical school in America as a system of thought to two factors: its incompatibility with American conditions and the contradiction contained in its philosophy of value, which led to the "crisis of historicism" once the confidence in the unity of all science had been destroyed. The insistence of the historical school on the uniqueness of all values and institutions ruled out the possibility that norms of behavior could be scientifically prescribed, a dilemma out of which, Herbst thinks, Albion Small's and John Dewey's pragmatic conception of history as an open-ended process may have pointed the way.

This book is an outstanding contribution to the understanding of the theoretical framework in which the social sciences emerged in America. I wonder, however, whether men like Adams and Burgess understood the ideological content of the German historical school quite as fully as Herbst suggests. Their great confidence in specialization, laboratory techniques, and biological analogies reflects attitudes more typical of late nineteenth-century thought in general than of the German historical school. Its great representatives, for example Ranke and Droysen, avoided overspecialization and placed intuitive *Verstehen* above empiricism. Much of the idealistic heritage had already been dissipated when these five Americans went to Germany. Idealistic elements survived, as Herbst rightly stresses, in the American disciples' reassessment of the state and their historicist philosophy of value.

State University of New York, Buffalo

GEORG G. IGGERS

HENRY ADAMS: THE MIDDLE YEARS. By *Ernest Samuels*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 514. \$7.50.)

HENRY ADAMS: THE MAJOR PHASE. By *Ernest Samuels*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. xv, 687. \$10.00.)

PROFESSOR Samuels has now completed his biography of Henry Adams, to which he devoted twenty years and which, in addition to being the most intensive study of the life and mind of Adams, is a notable achievement in biography.

The first volume, *The Young Henry Adams*, appeared in 1948 (*AHR*, LIV

[July 1949], 894); the second volume, *Henry Adams: The Middle Years*, was published in 1958 and strangely was not reviewed in the *American Historical Review*. The omission is amazing since it covers the years from 1877 to 1890, during which the *History* was written.

It was possible to say in a review of the 1948 volume that "none of the full-length biographies rumored during the past generation has been carried to completion." In the ten years before the second volume appeared, five valuable and scholarly books on Henry Adams were published. Only one of them, that by Jordy, was the work of a historian. Three others, those by Baym, Hume, and Levenson, were the works of professors of English and emphasized various aspects of the intellectual life of Adams. The one book that is a biography of the man was by a librarian, Miss Stevenson.

Ernest Samuels is also a professor of English literature, a fact that is of some consequence for those who read the *Review*. Penetrating and thoughtful as this study is, it reveals the scholarly associations of its author. His analysis of the famous *History* begins with a comparison with Tolstoi's *War and Peace*. It is typical that he quotes a professor of literature saying the *History* is the "greatest historical work in English, with the possible exception of the *Decline and Fall*," and not the professor of history who said with greater cogency that the *History* "for clarity, tight construction, and sheer intelligence applied to the exposition of a great theme, had not then, and has not since been equaled by any American historian." Of much greater moment, he devotes about as much space to the two novels of Adams as to the *History*. The novels are significant to a biographer, but as novels they are not noteworthy or enduring works of art while the *History* most certainly is both great art and scholarship. Professional historians will note the almost complete absence of references to other American historians, or to earlier and later interpretations of the period. They will also miss answers to many other questions that inevitably arise in historiographical studies.

Other riches are abundantly available. The volume presents the best account so far of the salon which Adams and his wife maintained in Washington and which deserves a chapter in the history of American intellectual life. It contains a perceptive and sympathetic picture of his marriage and its tragic ending, although many unanswered, perhaps unanswerable, questions remain.

The second volume benefited somewhat from the Adams Papers that had been made available in 1954. The third volume takes full advantage of that huge collection, of which Samuels correctly says, "If the immensely enlarged record reveals a brilliant mind in the grip of many prejudices and contradictions, it also shows a terrifyingly honest one, which more than ever defies a simple formula to explain it." Adams was a compulsive writer of what must surely be among the most challenging, revealing, and fascinating letters of the nineteenth century. They permit Samuels to give for the first time a satisfactory account of the relations between Adams and Mrs. Don Cameron. A rich and romantic love for each other emerged and flowered after the death of Mrs. Adams. But in this major phase of his life Adams proved to be a genuine and poignant failure. Fulfillment and marriage were impossible for them, not because of the difference of twenty years in age but because both were bound by the fastidious and prudish mores of the Victorian era. It was not the emptiness of his life nor, as some have surmised, a sense of guilt because he had not been able to prevent the suicide of his wife that sent him

in 1890 on his yearlong trip to the South Pacific. Mrs. Cameron sent him in an excess of caution to make certain that the scrupulously correct pattern of their lives should not be disturbed.

Also illuminated are the relations between Henry and his brother Brooks, who entered into Henry's intellectual life to a greater extent than had previously been realized. Most of the third volume is devoted to Henry's attempt to formulate a philosophy of history. Here the development of thought going into *The Education and Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* and into his later, briefer, yet equally daring if less successful writings is traced. Jordy's conclusion that Adams was a rank amateur in science is not overturned although the correspondence between Adams and various scientists now available testifies to his effort to be informed. One field of science that emerged during this period of Adams' life but of which he was completely unaware was Freudian psychology. Almost certainly he would have rejected Freud's findings with the same moral repugnance that other intellectuals of his generation displayed. But a biographer should recognize that in Adams' case the use of Freudian insights would bring increased understanding. Samuels made no such attempt.

In spite of the abundant wealth of the new materials in this biography and of the intelligence and literary skill with which they are used, there are still opportunities for more studies of Henry Adams. And so provocative is the challenge of his mind and life it is safe to predict that they will be made.

University of Washington

W. STULL HOLT

RAILROADS AND REGULATION, 1877-1916. By *Gabriel Kolko*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. vii, 273. \$5.00.)

At least for the period in which the railroad was a leading force in the nation's economic development, federal regulation of railroads, which began in 1887, was a key factor in the development of the United States as a modern welfare state. In this area the historian has long been interested in delineating the economic interests behind these regulations. For a time it was held that the western farmers, angered by the extortions and discriminations of the railroads, were the propelling force. Some added or stressed that the major group was the Pennsylvania petroleum producers who sought to eliminate the favoritism shown by railroads through the rebates they gave to the powerful Standard Oil interests.

In the last twenty years two additional groups have been credited as the chief instigators of federal regulation: certain merchant groups and shippers who complained of discriminatory rates and some important railroad executives. Professor Kolko insists that the railroads were "the most important . . . advocates of federal regulation from 1877 to 1916." The original stimulus for their support, the author asserts, was the breakdown of voluntary pooling agreements, which were designed to prevent "cutthroat competition," and the almost simultaneous great railroad strike of 1877, which "pointed to the danger of attacks . . . from the workers . . . [,] from the states and the Granger movement." "The primary commitment of the major directors of [the Interstate Commerce] Commission policy was essentially pro-railroad"; for example, the first chairman was Thomas M. Cooley, who "completely identified himself with the railroads' interests." This position was further strengthened by the attitude of the progressive Presidents, Theodore Roosevelt

and Woodrow Wilson, who "never failed to be solicitous of the good will of the railroads."

Kolko has added considerably to the discussion on the support of regulatory legislation by the railroads themselves at various times, on the timidity of the ICC regarding protection of consumers and shippers, on the complexities of the progressive movement, and on the concern of the Presidents with the financial plight of the railroads. He has, however, overdrawn his case. As illustrations of his methods of proving that the railroads themselves strongly urged regulatory legislation, let us look at the two most important measures: the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 and the Hepburn Act of 1906. As to the first, Kolko begins with the statement that "the railroads, for the most part, welcomed the signing of the new railroad law." He grants that "a few important railroad men, such as John Murray Forbes and William Bliss, regarded the Act with hostility. But the dominant sentiment was expressed by the *Railroad Gazette* [which stated] . . . 'We do not ourselves apprehend any very destructive consequences from the . . . law.'" This statement obviously shows more concern than enthusiasm, to say the least. As for the Hepburn Act, the author supports his view that "a large majority of the railroads supported . . . [its] passage or were neutral toward it" by the fact that "the votes in both the House and the Senate were nearly unanimous."

Similarly we cannot accept as conclusive the evidence offered that Cooley was prorailroad. One year after taking office he recorded in his unpublished diary that the strike of the brotherhoods of engineers and firemen against the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy had been broken and added that the men wished to return. Shortly afterward he tried to convince the other commissioners that despite the railroad's opposition the commission must investigate the strike if the Interstate Commerce Act was not to be emasculated.

Again, while it is true that, as the author says, "President Roosevelt . . . never sought to damage their [the railroads'] vital interests as he or the railroads interpreted them," this did not mean that the progressive Presidents always viewed the vital interests of the railroads in the same way as did the railroad magnates. Thus Wilson, despite the opposition of the leading railroad executives, signed the Adamson Act on September 2, 1916, imposing an eight-hour day for railroad workers engaged in interstate commerce.

These criticisms do not substantially detract from the contribution Kolko has made to our knowledge of the history of federal railroad regulation.

Columbia University

JOSEPH DORFMAN

LOVE AND REVOLUTION: MY JOURNEY THROUGH AN EPOCH. By Max Eastman. (New York: Random House. 1964. Pp. xiii, 665. \$8.95.)

Love and Revolution brings to a conclusion the story of Max Eastman's life, a story half recounted seventeen years ago in the *Enjoyment of Living*. Like its predecessor, *Love and Revolution* is brisk, lively, colorful, panoramic, full of humor and drama, personalities and anecdotes. The characters who walk through its teeming pages—John Reed, Carlos Tresca, Learned Hand, Charles Chaplin, Sigmund Freud, William Jennings Bryan, Frank Harris, Max Beerbohm, Lloyd George—are so sharply drawn and so strikingly diverse that their appearance alone gives Eastman's autobiography a permanent value. They enhance his skill-

ful evocations, of Greenwich Village, of New York intellectual life, of the hopeful chaos of revolutionary Russia, and give a sense of immediacy that students of recent history will find fascinating. Beginning with World War I, Eastman recaptures these embattled years with the originality and deep humanitarianism, the protest and search for emotional freedom that characterized them. These were years when everything seemed new: the new woman, the New Freedom, the new literary criticism of Randolph Bourne and Van Wyck Brooks, the new magazines like *Poetry* and *The Masses*.

Eastman was not merely an editor and journalist, a belated Socialist who could consider Morris Hillquit and William Haywood his friends; he was a man possessed of a highly unconventional imagination, a Bohemian who proudly and passionately breached the social code. He was a man of paradox, torn between skepticism and faith, between pragmatism and belief in the intrinsic worth of certain principles, and, torn as he was, he could never give himself unreservedly to any cause. As a radical, he conducted a personal crusade against the First World War and, consequently, was indicted under the Espionage Act. As an editor, he became familiar with the heavy hand of Albert Burleson and post-office censors. As a poet—and poetry was his first love—and as a romantic, he responded to the Bolshevik cause with the enthusiasm of a swan to its mate. Owing to the personal friendship of Leon Trotsky and Eliena Krylenko, Maxim Litvinov's secretary, Eastman was in a commanding position and came to know the inner circle of Bolshevik leaders better than almost any American. Associated as he has been with anti-Stalinism for three decades, one tends to forget that he was possibly the ablest and most eloquent early spokesman for the Revolution in the United States. It was the power struggle of 1924, after his hero, Lenin, had died, that catalyzed an agonizing reappraisal. Trotsky's fatal indecision during the party congresses, Stalin's seizure of power, the suppression of Lenin's "Testament" are vividly described, and these events helped complete the devolution from radical to anti-Communist.

It was a long "ideological journey" from 1912—when John Sloan painted the message on a scrap of paper, "you are elected editor of *The Masses*—no pay"—to an appointment as "roving editor" for the *Reader's Digest* in 1941. In the course of it, one occasionally becomes irritated with Eastman's tendency to self-inflation, the dogmatism of his emotional posture, his willingness to sacrifice important considerations for ego satisfactions. But there are many compensations, not the least of which are the supple prose and the evidence of a tough intellect, which have helped to make this voyage entertaining, instructive, illuminating, eminently worth reading.

University of Massachusetts

MILTON CANTOR

THE WORLD OF RANDOLPH BOURNE: AN ANTHOLOGY. Edited, and with an introduction by Lillian Schlissel. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1965. Pp. xlix, 333. \$5.75.)

PROFESSOR Schlissel has edited a useful collection of Bourne's writings. The special virtue of her anthology is that it presents the various phases of Bourne's radicalism in separate sections of generally representative essays. We are given a sampling of his early *Atlantic Monthly* pieces in behalf of the younger generation,

some of his attacks in the *New Republic* on the educational establishment, and most of the war essays from *Seven Arts*. The inclusion of articles on the war by Norman Thomas, Arthur O. Lovejoy, and John Dewey, among others, and Wilson's war message provides a context for Bourne's protests against American participation in the conflict. Strangely enough, since she teaches English, the editor quite fails to mine the rich field of Bourne's mature cultural essays. Because neither edition of Van Wyck Brooks's *The History of a Literary Radical* (1920, 1956) satisfactorily presents Bourne's brilliant though brief encounter with modern literature, Schlissel might have done more with it. This section of her anthology is reminiscent of leftover potluck, as is the section entitled "Posthumous Essays." The manuscript on the state is less important for being unfinished than as a culmination of Bourne's critique of instrumentalism. And the renowned "History of a Literary Radical," posthumously published though it may be, belongs to his search for cultural identity. Scholars will be grateful for the excellent bibliography of Bourne's scattered writings that rounds out the book. Previously it could only be found in Professor Mark Harris' unpublished Ph.D. dissertation.

Though weighed down by profuse quotations, and unhappily entitled "On Creating a Usable Randolph Bourne," an informative introduction communicates something of the passion and bravado in the subject's truncated career. The editor does not sufficiently treat the evolution of Bourne's ideas and their growing relevance to the cultural situation. Some of the essays in this volume placed their author at the very focus of the debate over the intellectual's relationship to a violent society. Because the controversy is still relevant, there is little need to create a "usable Randolph Bourne," certainly not the odd fellow summed up, as he is in the editor's inscription, by Nietzsche's confession: "I attack only those things against which I have no allies, against which I stand alone." Schlissel's Bourne emerges a chronic iconoclast whose "mistakes were those of the outsider," unable to comprehend the limitations within which power operates. The truly useful function of our radical intellectuals has been to comprehend not the limitations of our culture but its possibilities. Whatever the angle of their vision, it is its content that interests us.

Northwestern University

CARL RESEK

FIVE NOVELISTS OF THE PROGRESSIVE ERA. By *Robert W. Schneider*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1965. Pp. vii, 290. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Schneider grounds his study on the axiom that "The real tension of the Progressive period . . . was created . . . by the conflict within the minds of individual intellectuals—the conflict between the values of the past and the scientific beliefs of the future." This dialectical approach to the study of American intellectual history is a very fruitful one, as demonstrated by a number of scholars in recent years. Beginning with such an affirmation, one is likely to examine individuals rather than groups or movements in history. Schneider selected William Dean Howells, Stephen Crane, Frank Norris, Theodore Dreiser, and Winston Churchill (and their novels) on the assumption that they were "repositories of the dialectic of their times—they contained both the yes and the no of their culture . . . [Lionel Trilling's phrasing]."

Among other things, Schneider found that although changes in thought pat-

terns occurred, no intellectual revolution ensued before 1917; that the important changes in basic attitudes toward man came not from the social scientists but from the novelists of the age; that there was a continuing debate on the question of human freedom and creativity; that the novelists, while challenging customary assumptions of freedom, "felt the pull of tradition as well as the pull of scientific realism"; and that progressivism lost its appeal after 1917 because the public no longer found its millennial strain relevant.

Schneider's book was inspired by David W. Noble's *The Paradox of Progressive Thought* (1958), in which Noble treated a number of social scientists of the progressive era. This volume supplements and complements the earlier study. In concentrating on the writings of a few individuals, Schneider's approach is more that of Daniel Aaron in *Men of Good Hope* and Frederic C. Jaher in *Doubters and Dissenters* than of Henry S. Commager in *The American Mind* and Henry F. May in *The End of American Innocence*.

He has revealed anew that the progressive period is a very complex one in which ideas jostled one another in a bewildering manner. One of Howells' characters in one of his novels says: "Life is never the logical and consequent thing we argue from the moral and intellectual premises. . . . such reason as it has is often crossed and obscured by perverse events. . . ." One might say the same thing of the intellectual history of the progressive era. Schneider, however, has given us some suggestions useful in coming to terms with the period as well as enriching our understanding of progressivism.

Stanford University

GEORGE HARMON KNOLES

THE IDEAS OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT, 1890-1920. By Aileen S. Kraditor. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965. Pp. xii, 313. \$8.75.)

THIS study of the ideas of the later stages of the woman-suffrage movement as a phase of American intellectual history is a relatively new approach to woman's rights though suggestions of it occur in Miss Flexner's comprehensive *Century of Struggle* (1959). Dr. Kraditor has worked extensively in the Women's Archives of Radcliffe, the Sophia Smith Collection of Smith College, and other research libraries to find the letters, speeches, pamphlets, and articles that are basic to her interesting analysis. An appendix with brief biographical data on twenty-six of the suffragist leaders is helpful.

From this study it appears that there were no long-term official platform for the suffragist movement and no lack of intensely individual views on the part of its leaders. There were, however, well-recognized arguments commonly used in answering theological, biological, and sociological charges of antisuffragists. These are discussed in the earlier chapters of the book. Perhaps its greatest interest lies in the change of emphasis that the author found between ideas generally held prior to 1890 and those of later years. In the earlier period the appeal for the ballot was chiefly on grounds of justice, equality, and common humanity. By the end of the century the stress was on arguments from expediency, such as self-protection for women and the enlargement of women's interest in or support for other reforms. The change may have occurred because the equality of women had been settled in the abstract, and other arguments were needed. The author notes, how-

ever, that the shift was accompanied by antiforeignism and antilabor feeling among women of the North and a strong desire for white supremacy on the part of southern suffragists. It was perhaps erroneously thought that giving the ballot to women of middle-class Anglo-Saxon background might help to outnumber "undesirable" voters. This discussion of the lessened stress on human rights makes some interesting comparisons with progressivism and other reform movements. While there was great diversity of thought on the part of individual suffragists, the movement as a whole appears to have been middle of the road and indeed almost conservative.

The study provides much material for discussion by students of twentieth-century thought and American reform movements.

Mount Holyoke College

MARY S. BENSON

AMERICA'S ROAD TO EMPIRE: THE WAR WITH SPAIN AND OVERSEAS EXPANSION. By *H. Wayne Morgan*. [America in Crisis.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1965. Pp. xiii, 124. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.)

As one would expect in a book by the most recent biographer of William McKinley, Mr. Morgan focuses his account of the Spanish-American War and its consequences sharply upon the role of the President. Much of this small volume, one of a series of eight on "America in Crisis," consists in fact of passages excerpted, with minor modifications, from the author's *William McKinley and His America* (1963). Morgan's main concern is apparently to show the falsity of the common impression that McKinley was a weak man who was pushed into war with Spain by the jingoism of the yellow press and their abettors in Congress. This he does effectively. McKinley, in his annual message of December 1897, had plainly warned that continued Spanish failure to bring peace to Cuba would necessitate American intervention. Subsequent events demonstrated Spain's incapacity to meet that requirement and convinced McKinley that independence for Cuba would provide the only tolerable solution. With good reason he distrusted the Spanish government's eleventh-hour conciliatory gestures and thought it unnecessary to do more than report them in a perfunctory manner to Congress in his war message. Morgan calls attention repeatedly to the continuity of Cuban policy from Cleveland to McKinley and contends that Cleveland, had he remained in office, would, like McKinley, have found war unavoidable. That McKinley's position has been so widely misunderstood Morgan attributes largely to his refusal to conduct diplomacy in public. His long silences were mistaken for irresolution.

The centering of attention on McKinley is more justifiable in the chapter on intervention than in that on peacemaking, which deals primarily with the reaching of the decision to retain the Philippines. While Morgan detects an early and continuing inclination on McKinley's part to hold the islands, the final decision to demand their cession would be made clearer if more attention were paid to the pressures—strategic, economic, religious—exerted upon the White House after Dewey's victory. There is, for example, no mention here of the threat to the Open Door in China and the widely used argument that a foothold in the Philippines would be useful in counteracting that threat. When the Open Door issue is brought up later, it appears as something new, and the McKinley administration

is credited with devising "the subtle Open Door doctrine," which, as a matter of fact, was as old as the first Western treaties with China.

Morgan writes clearly, crisply, and sometimes excitingly. The book makes agreeable reading, as well as being a concise and generally judicious interpretation of an important crisis in the evolution of American foreign policy. There are a few minor errors: Fitzhugh Lee was a nephew, not a "descendant," of the famous general; embassies and legations are mentioned as if the terms were synonymous; and it is hard to justify the deliberate omission of accents from Spanish names. But such minor defects are easily overlooked in what is in most respects a very good book.

University of Notre Dame

JULIUS W. PRATT

MAKING PEACE WITH SPAIN: THE DIARY OF WHITELAW REID, SEPTEMBER–DECEMBER, 1898. Edited by *H. Wayne Morgan*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 276. \$6.50.)

WHITELAW Reid had a long and varied career, as editor of the New York *Tribune* (successor to Horace Greeley), as Republican politician (Benjamin Harrison's running mate in the presidential campaign of 1892, and long a power in New York politics), and as a diplomat (US minister for three years in Paris and US ambassador for seven years in London). Perhaps his most important diplomatic task was his work on the commission that negotiated a peace treaty with Spain in 1898. Certainly the best "inside" view of the American side of the peace negotiations is contained in the daily diary Reid kept while they were in progress.

Vivid, detailed, and intimate, the diary is valuable not only as an account of the peacemaking, but also as a reflection of the division in American minds over the whole issue of overseas expansion. Reid himself had no qualms about acquiring as much territory as possible, nor did two of his colleagues on the peace commission, Senators William P. Frye of Maine and Cushman Davis of Minnesota. William R. Day, however, who resigned as Secretary of State to head the commission, was at best a reluctant and moderate expansionist, while Senator George Gray of Delaware was completely anti-imperialist from the beginning. Thus the complex negotiations with the Spanish were paralleled by a running internal debate among the US commissioners that exhibited most of the issues and attitudes figuring in the subsequent national controversy on expansion. On the knotty problem of the disposition of the Philippine Islands, Reid urged taking them all in the belief that, with Hawaii and Alaska, they would provide the base to "convert the Pacific Ocean into an American lake." Day thought that it was burden enough to assume responsibility for Cuba and Puerto Rico and hoped to "get out of the Philippines with the least possible responsibility." Gray, who opposed taking any Asiatic territory at all, declared that "the government was in a hypocritical position, really striving for the utmost conquest possible, while professing to be controlled solely by motives of duty and humanity." Such interplay of ideas and personalities provides the most fascinating side of Reid's account, which is notable both for the clarity and insight of its reporting and for the rather patronizing self-confidence of the author, who clearly wrote with an eye to posterity.

Long available in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, this useful and readable document has been put into book form by Professor H.

Wayne Morgan, and the result is completely satisfying. An able editor, Morgan has maintained a sense of unity and continuity throughout the book. Though the text is annotated in the interest of clarity, the notes are unobtrusive and limited to genuinely useful information, while the publisher has put them at the bottom of the page where they belong. The editor introduces the diary with a biographical sketch of Reid and follows it with appendixes containing relevant official documents and a biographical glossary that identifies the people mentioned in the text. Morgan states at the beginning of the volume that he has "tried to intrude with the minimum of editorial comment, and to allow Reid to tell his own story in his own style." It is pleasant to note his success.

University of Delaware

DAVID HEALY

GOVERNOR THEODORE ROOSEVELT: THE ALBANY APPRENTICESHIP, 1898-1900. By *G. Wallace Chessman*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 335. \$6.95.)

THIS solid monograph makes a really important contribution to our knowledge of Roosevelt's career. Professor Chessman's thesis, convincingly proved, is that the governorship was for Roosevelt a period in which he developed many of the important ideas and political techniques that he applied to national problems during his presidency. In Roosevelt's treatment of such issues as industrial monopoly, labor relations, and conservation, we see him working out the principles that later governed his handling of these problems while in the White House. Most fascinating is Chessman's portrayal of how Roosevelt achieved important reforms without coming into head-on conflict with Boss Platt and his powerful Republican machine. The governor consulted Platt at every turn and sought always to accommodate him. Repeatedly he appointed men approved by Platt to important administrative posts. Yet he almost never did so at the sacrifice of principle, and he always forced Platt, usually by persuasion, to come more than halfway when they disagreed. "I have had the kernel and Mr. Platt the husk," he boasted in August 1900, and this seems indeed to have been the case. One of the most remarkable conclusions that emerges from these pages is the extent to which genuine reforms were achieved and first-rate men appointed to office with Platt's approval. In the spring of 1899, for example, Platt brought strong pressure to bear on organization state senators to push through a civil service bill that the secretary of the Civil Service Reform Association called "superior to any civil service statute heretofore secured in America."

At the same time, Roosevelt was not afraid to oppose Platt where matters of principle were concerned, and he knew how to use his great personal popularity with the voters to do so. Chessman believes that Roosevelt was able to inspire the whole Republican organization with some sense of its responsibility to the public and to persuade many political hacks to exhibit a degree of independence and public spirit. "If you choose to be cattle I must consult your driver," he once told two assemblymen. "Be men and I want your advice." Some New York reformers objected to Roosevelt's cooperation with Platt, but Chessman concludes, on what appears to be incontrovertible evidence, that Roosevelt accomplished far more by working with Platt than he possibly could have by challenging him at every point.

Roosevelt saw himself as a mediator and honest broker balancing conflicting

interests in order to achieve the general good. When uncompromising reformers objected to his halfway measures, he characterized them as "little knots of fantastic extremists." When conservatives objected to any change at all, he told them: "I do not believe that it is wise or safe for us as a party to take refuge in mere negation." He thus prepared the way for the conservative reform movement we call progressive. "What Roosevelt offered the Republicans," Chessman writes, "was a workable plan by which to move forward toward greater democracy in an era of revolutionary change."

This is, in short, an excellent book, detailed but not tedious, thoughtful yet lively, concerned with local issues primarily, yet always relating these matters to the larger scene.

Columbia University

JOHN A. GARRATY

FUND RAISING IN THE UNITED STATES: ITS ROLE IN AMERICA'S PHILANTHROPY. By *Scott M. Cutlip*. Foreword by *Merle Curti*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 553. \$12.50.)

THE role of voluntary associations in American philanthropy has already received the serious study it deserves, but this massively detailed book by Scott M. Cutlip, a journalism professor at the University of Wisconsin, is the first attempt to investigate the role of fund raising in such associations from the seventeenth century to the present.

It would be pleasant to report that Cutlip's labors have resulted in filling a gap in an important but neglected area of research and interpretation in American history. His account rests on a variety of sources, including oral interviews, and he brought to his task an unusual competence in the study of public relations. That competence shows itself when he describes the techniques of professional fund raisers, the first generation of whom, we learn from this account, date from the first decade of this century. Ultimately, however, Cutlip fails in his major objectives.

An opening chapter of a mere twenty-three pages is supposed to tell the story of fund raising to 1900. Inadequate in itself, that chapter further mars the book by making it lopsided. More seriously, it denies the author a historical base from which to trace the shifts, which his book claims to have done, "from the elite to the masses, from the religious to the secular, from the amateur and volunteer to the professional. . . ." What the author has given us, instead, is essentially a twentieth-century history.

Here, too, the coverage is arbitrary and the analysis questionable. The raising of money for the arts is ignored, and religion is slighted even though Cutlip himself notes that religion claims more than half of the annual contributions for philanthropic purposes. Only in the most obvious cases does he satisfactorily relate his special subject to American history in general, and historians are likely to balk at a scholarship that, for example, relies mainly on Frederick Lewis Allen for the progressive era and that lists both textbooks and abridgments of original works in the bibliography. It is also improbable that readers will be convinced by the interpretation that twentieth-century philanthropy has been entirely a "people's philanthropy." Cutlip repeats the term time and again, but in the recent Harvard

program, which he cites as an example, roughly 70 per cent of the \$82,775,554 raised came from less than 5 per cent of the contributors.

The most original part of this book is about the professional fund raisers and the drives they directed from 1900 through the 1920's. Why Cutlip did not limit himself to that subject is strange, for it is his real interest and also the area of his professional competence. Properly rewritten (the narrative is tedious because one campaign reads too much like another), it would have made for a more pointed and readable book than this seldom focused and often indigestible work that claims to be more than it is.

Smith College

ARTHUR MANN

THE PROFESSIONAL ALTRUIST: THE EMERGENCE OF SOCIAL WORK AS A CAREER, 1880-1930. By *Roy Lubove*. [A Publication of the Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America, Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 291. \$5.95.)

THIS book is narrower in scope than earlier works by Nathan Cohen and Kathleen Woodroffe, and it is more historical than the sociological analyses by Helen Witmer, Harold Wilensky, and Charles Lebeaux. Roy Lubove supersedes their work, where he covers the same ground, by his competent craftsmanship. The bibliography displays an enterprising search of the literature, including subjects as diverse as psychiatric theory and professional fund raising, with particular attention to agencies and papers in Boston and New York. Lubove's spirit is objective and critical. He has a gift for succinct summary and pointed analysis of documents and trends, and he uses sociological theory while avoiding its turgid locutions and slack historical interpretations.

His argument follows Wilensky and Lebeaux: social work was a product of urban industrial society, subject to characteristic trends toward specialization, professionalism, and bureaucracy. Its origin, however, was charitable benevolence that was emphatically voluntary and personal. How, he asks, did philanthropic volunteers in 1880 become bureaucratic professionals in 1930? A simple answer is that the supply of volunteers dried up, but he shows how "imperatives of formal organization" and professionalization fashioned occupations and agencies. In this perspective he clarifies much historical detail. His conclusions—that nineteenth-century voluntarism is beyond recall and that social workers emphasized casework at the expense of other worth-while functions—are familiar but well founded.

Although Lubove's analysis is forceful, its focus is perhaps too narrow. A social historian might conceive that welfare agencies and social workers stood between various groups of sponsors and people in need and represented services that gave form to more or less popular ideas, philanthropic and scientific, about misfortune and deviation; he might find the fundamental continuity of development in changes in these groups and their thinking, rather than primarily in occupations and organizations. Indeed, service—helping people in trouble or danger—was ostensibly the motive of professional development; social workers are doubtless vocational status seekers, but to isolate their formal organization from their service is to ignore a crucial historical reality. It appears, furthermore, that in European urban-industrial societies "the imperatives of formal organization" and professionalization had different consequences for social work. These reflections do not de-

tract from Lubove's solid contribution, but they suggest that there are factors at work for which neither sociological nor historical analysis has yet accounted.

University of California, Berkeley

JAMES LEIBY

A HISTORY OF THE ROCKEFELLER INSTITUTE, 1901-1953: ORIGINS AND GROWTH. By *George W. Corner*. (New York: Rockefeller Institute Press, 1964. Pp. 635. \$12.50.)

THE Rockefeller Institute was founded in 1901, imitating the model of the Pasteur and other European research institutes, to investigate the nature, cause, prevention, and treatment of infectious diseases. Watching the careful expenditure of funds and the excellent work of the research scientists they supported, the Rockefellers provided increasing amounts of money to enable the institute over the years to carry on a wide variety of difficult and expensive research. In 1953 the institute converted itself into a graduate university, ironically, only after many American universities had gone a long way toward turning themselves into research institutes using the model of the Rockefeller Institute.

This book falls into the genre of "company histories." The sources are primarily the institutional records kept self-consciously for just such an occasion. They are nevertheless revealing and in Corner's hands rarely deceptive. Clippings (apparently limited to New York publications) kept by the institute greatly assist and deepen Corner's treatment and make accessible much elusive material. Scientists still living were given a chance to correct and approve accounts of their own work, and documentation of the later chapters becomes progressively more sparse. Corner refers to only one manuscript collection outside of the institute, but published material is well utilized. The author is an anatomist and amateur historian (the professional touch is lacking, for example, in his failure to use Herter's death certificate, a public document).

The author conscientiously attempts to include accounts of as many of the hundreds of scientists who have worked at the Rockefeller Institute as possible. These detailed accounts turn a large portion of the book into chronology rather than history. While they have the aspect of placating those who might look themselves or their friends up, they also are useful in making the book, which is well indexed, more valuable for reference.

Corner seems to allot space according to budget or rank more than importance (in marked contrast to full members, the obscure assistant whom a laboratory infection made a martyr to science is not even mentioned by name). Corner is painstakingly fair to individuals whom he treats, perhaps even a little charitable, for example, to Noguchi. While the author takes into account foibles and even lapses in individual judgments, he apparently thinks that the governing boards never made errors in policy. Reading such passages one might wish that some less prominent member of the scientific establishment had undertaken this volume. Such an author might have explored far more not only committee decisions but, for example, the impact on institute policy of the public relations work that has characterized Rockefeller—and establishment—ventures. Nevertheless we must be grateful that Corner's command of so many disciplines permits so much clear summary, explanation, and popularization of complex and fragmentary scientific research. Because even in chronicling Corner always puts the work he is describing into its context and indicates its significance, this history of the Rockefeller Institute

comes remarkably close to being a general, if parochial, history of American medical research and experimental biology from the introduction of sophisticated bacteriology to the rise of recent biochemistry.

Ohio State University

JOHN CHYNOWETH BURNHAM

FROM THESE BEGINNINGS: THE EARLY PHILANTHROPIES OF HENRY AND EDESEL FORD, 1911-1936. By *William Greenleaf*. (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 1964. Pp. 235. \$7.95.)

THIS excellent account of the philanthropic activities of Henry, Clara, and Edsel Ford before 1936 dispels the idea that Ford philanthropy began with the Ford Foundation. True, Henry Ford's public reputation owed little to gifts. He despised giveaways and disliked charitable endowments. His lifetime gifts totaled a modest \$37,500,000, compared with the senior Rockefeller's \$600,000,000 and Carnegie's \$325,000,000. But his giving was more extensive than anyone might have guessed from his strictures on the evils of charity. By the author's reckoning about one-third of Ford's net taxable income went to philanthropy between 1917 and 1947.

Ford was deeply involved in advancing human welfare from the moment he entered business. Ford Motor Company contributions to technical progress, economic growth, rising wage levels, and job opportunities for plain people (especially Negroes) always ranked higher in his mind than any good that he might accomplish through donations. He aimed to promote social progress by keeping his money in the company, the company in business, and the family in firm control. Ultimately the Ford Foundation, a response to the estate provisions of the Revenue Act of 1935, helped keep the family in control and the company in business.

Though he was no philosopher of giving, Ford found socially useful and personally satisfying things to do with his spare cash. Like other philanthropists, he tried to heal, to educate, and to nudge the less fortunate in the direction of self-help and self-respect. His philanthropy, like his cars, had his intensely personal and crotchety touch. Holding the medical profession in low esteem, and wanting to improve medical service in Detroit, he built and staffed the model Henry Ford Hospital. Then he went about telling heart patients to pay no attention to their doctors, that they could cure themselves by lying flat on the floor for half an hour twice a day. His love of the forms and values of the vanishing village inspired the creation of Greenfield Village, which was to serve as an educational link between the old America and the new. He organized the remarkable Henry Ford Museum to collect artifacts testifying to his conviction that the mechanical arts were the principal agents of progress. His educational investments, in the Berry College in Georgia, the Wayside Inn in Massachusetts, and the Edison Institute of Technology at Dearborn, betrayed the strong vocational, antibookish bias of his own mind. Though he was interested in community welfare and personally subsidized the rehabilitation of two Negro communities, one in Michigan and the other in Georgia, he refused to contribute anything to the Detroit Community Fund, leaving that to his wife and son. Ford money that went for the support of the arts and sciences passed through Edsel's hands, not Henry's.

Professor Greenleaf imposes no burden of social doctrine on his story. His assessment of the Ford charitable record is informed, sensible, and convincing. Some readers will deplore his decision not to include an account of the Ford Peace

Ship Expedition, but that, like other small objections that could be raised, is a quibble. The author has done a superb job of re-creating the man, the deeds, and the philanthropic values that he found in the historical record.

University of Wisconsin

IRVIN G. WYLLIE

THE MIND AND ART OF ALBERT JAY NOCK. By *Robert M. Crunden*. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. 1964. Pp. xii, 230. \$4.95.)

ALBERT J. Nock was wont to quote a French journalist: "Americans are the only people who have passed directly from barbarism to decadence without knowing civilization." He was, in one sense, this century's Henry Adams. His *Memoirs of a Superfluous Man* has been compared to *The Education*. Nock became the prophet of the saving remnant, that minority who by "force of intellect" were distinct from the "knavish, arrogant, grasping, dissipated, unprincipled and unscrupulous" majority.

He traveled all the way from single taxism to a kind of home-grown fascism as evidenced by his enthusiasm for the elitist views of Ralph Adams Cram. In 1909 Nock left the Episcopal clergy to work for the *American Magazine* when Steffens, Tarbell, and Jack Reed were still on the staff. After assaulting the Treaty of Versailles in the pages of the *Nation*, he became the editor of the brilliant, radical literary magazine, the *Freeman*. In the mid-thirties Nock contributed a column to the *American Mercury* describing the obscenities of the New Deal that was destroying the country. He concluded his career by writing for *Scribner's Commentator* and the National Council's *Review of Books*, both of which voiced the extreme conservative position of the early forties.

As essayist, biographer, and translator there was hardly a facet of American culture that did not interest Nock. Despite the perversities of some of his opinions and a monumental egotism, he wrote with great style, precision, and wit. His devastating critique of mass culture articulated a significant challenge to twentieth-century liberalism.

Crunden's skillful book, the result of an undergraduate honors' program, reflects the demanding standards of style and scholarship of its director, Edmund Morgan. However, Crunden's belief that the biographer should let his subject speak for himself without harassing criticism may confuse some. Nock, far more than "tentatively" as the author suggests, embraced Cram's belief that the "vast majority" of men were subhuman. His own account of his discovery of Cram approaches the dimensions of a revelation. Crunden writes that Nock moved "from being *considered* a radical to being *considered* a conservative [*italics mine*]" without "especially changing his ideas." On the next page he concedes that there was "only one basic doctrinal change, the loss of faith in perfectible humanity . . ." but that Nock's philosophy "at heart, remained a modern example of the tradition of Jefferson, Spencer and George" with the ghosts of Adams, Spengler, and Ortega y Gasset casting broad shadows. In view of the virulence of Nock's estimate of mankind one finds this judgment of his loss of innocence rather bland.

Queens College

MICHAEL WRESZIN

CONSERVATIVES IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA: THE TAFT REPUBLICANS OF 1912. By *Norman M. Wilensky*. [University of Florida Mono-

graphs, Social Sciences, Number 25.] (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1965. Pp. 75. \$2.00.)

Mr. Wilensky tells us that he is "the first person to have access to the Charles Dewey Hilles Papers in the Yale University Library." Evidently, from this fortuitous circumstance, a doctoral dissertation grew. The University of Florida Press obliged him by putting the finished product into print, without an index or bibliography. The product is not a book; it is five small articles, at least three of which would never have been written if each were made to stand the test of innovation that should be required of all monographs. The press has thus done a disservice for a profession already inundated with duplicate narratives and much trivia.

Someday someone will study how the Old Guard justified to itself and to the public its dismal record of obstructionism during the progressive era. We know much about the institutional sources of its power, but what was its rationale? Wilensky's study fails to fill the need, despite his argument that it was "ideology," not patronage, opportunism, or "social status," that separated the regular from the progressive Republicans in 1912. In a biographical and career analysis meant to challenge Mowry's and Hofstadter's status thesis, he finds that Taft's supporters in 1912 differed little from the progressives *except* that the progressives were younger, included significantly more women, professors, and writers, and (Wilensky fails to note) included notably fewer businessmen, especially outside of the South. Wilensky thus joins the ranks of those who would, it seems, build a career upon Hofstadter's back. He might have noted that although it is not at all remarkable for an old guard to draw from the middle and upper classes, it is indeed noteworthy that insurgents should derive from the same sources. Wilensky's "ideology" theme is an idea worth exploring. But to present the Old Guard "ideology" he merely quotes samples from the works of Taft, Nicholas M. Butler, Henry Stimson, Elihu Root, and Charles Nagel, without giving us reason to accept these men as "typical" or the sample quotations as representative. Nor does he present a comparable sample for the "progressive ideology"; he merely asserts what he, and more often what some Old Guardsmen, believed the "progressive ideology" stood for. But Wilensky says his "major thesis" is "that President Taft . . . began a political attack early in 1911 which was primarily responsible for the conservative control of the Republican party at the close of 1912." Taft, in short, was not inept as "historians" have suggested; his (and Hilles') "long-range preparation was largely responsible for his renomination." The truly remarkable thing is that anyone should have paid the subject much heed at all. Is it really astonishing that a President should begin to tend and mend political fences eighteen months before a nominating convention? Anyway, George Mowry has already told us about it in at least two books devoted to more substantial matters.

University of California, Berkeley

RICHARD M. ABRAMS

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD: PACIFIST AT WAR. By *Michael Wreszin*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 342. \$6.95.)

Mr. Wreszin has not written a biography in the truest sense of the word. It is not the life story, public and private, of Oswald Garrison Villard. Contemplating Villard's categorical opposition to war, the author contends that Villard's assessment of man's potential and of man's future in a world in which the use of force tri-

umphs over reason has meaning for contemporary society. "After Nagasaki and Hiroshima the argument for war as a means of avoiding a great evil is absurd; Villard's dilemma has horrible significance for our own time. . . . The ideals to which men like Villard were committed become obsolete as rapidly as the new weapons of destruction."

The emphasis of this volume then, as the subtitle suggests, is on Villard's pacifism. It is devoted largely to an account of the involvement of Villard and his liberal weekly, the *Nation*, in the pacifist movement surrounding World War I, Villard's rejection of the Versailles Treaty and the League, his battle on behalf of disarmament, and his advocacy of neutrality during the pre-World War II period. Wreszin chronicles also the ridicule and criticism heaped upon Villard and the personal disappointments, disillusionment, and frustration that accompanied his views over the years.

Based on the Villard manuscript collection at Harvard and Villard's published writings, this book is a well-written, detailed, and well-documented account of an interesting and complex personality's views on some of the crucial issues of his day. The volume breaks little new ground on the issues. It adds little to the existing literature on American pacifism as a movement, its organization, or its leadership. It does contribute, however, some critical analysis of the relationship of Villard's idealism to his thinking on practical politics. Wreszin examines what Norman Thomas has described as causing Villard himself agonizing appraisals and reappraisals. Villard's idealism inevitably took precedence over the compromise and expediency of political realism, and this has led some scholars to reject Villard as a true liberal and write him off as either a naïve dogmatist or more simply as just a "sport."

Wreszin feels that Villard's liberalism "was genuine and compatible with the mainstream of liberal thought in the early thirties," a conclusion I expounded in my volume also entitled *Oswald Garrison Villard*, but subtitled *Liberal of the 1920's* (1960). Curiously, Wreszin nowhere acknowledges the existence of this volume although he quotes from a review of it. While we cover some of the same ground, Wreszin's book does not concern itself at any length with Villard's battles on behalf of human rights and dignity or those on the extension of political democracy that marked much of his activity in the twenties, years which were, by both Wreszin's and my accounts, Villard's most influential.

Reflecting on Villard's dilemma noted in the opening paragraph of this review and the tension between his idealism and realism, Wreszin concludes: "That a man's reach should exceed his grasp is as much a part of the human predicament as his realization of human frailty. Now, when even thoughts of survival seem visionary and utopian, one wonders if the world will be any freer and more humane without the prodding consciences of men like Oswald Garrison Villard."

Wells College

D. JOY HUMES

THE WONDERFUL WORLD OF ELLWOOD PATTERSON CUBBERLEY:
AN ESSAY ON THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN EDUCATION. By *Lawrence A. Cremin*. (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University. 1965. Pp. 81.)

THIS essay should be read by all teachers and critics of the history of American education. Cremin uses Cubberley's *Public Education in the United States* (1919)

as a vehicle for conveying ideas of broader importance to the professions of history and education.

For a generation Cubberley's volume was the outstanding textbook for courses in the history of American education. From it America's teachers and administrators learned that free, universal education had its origin in colonial New England and came to bloom in the nineteenth century after a series of battles with undemocratic forces; that America's democracy was in large part the creation of its schools; and that "schools" and "education" were practically synonymous. Cremin classifies the work as a great book. He admits the faults currently charged to it; in fact, he has been one of its best critics. But he shows that those faults did not originate with Cubberley and that they were shared by the late nineteenth-century historians who wrote of education. Moreover, the same faults were exhibited frequently in historical writings not concerned with education. In support of his theses, Cremin quotes scores of writers from Barnard to Bailyn. In ninety-five footnotes (placed unfortunately at the end of the essay) he cites hundreds of books and articles. He emphasizes the value of Barnard's *Journal*, of the activities of the Bureau of Education, and of Herbert Baxter Adams' *Contributions to American Educational History*.

Professional historians of the fifty years after Adams showed little interest in the history of education. It is good that several of them are now concerned about that history and doubly good that they are willing to recognize educationist-historians, without whose efforts not much attention would have been paid to it in the first half of this century. This essay was prepared for a conference held under the auspices of the Committee on the Role of Education in American History in June 1964.

Duke University

WILLIAM H. CARTWRIGHT

THE AVAILABLE MAN: THE LIFE BEHIND THE MASKS OF WARREN GAMALIEL HARDING. By *Andrew Sinclair*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1965. Pp. viii, 344. \$6.95.)

If it can be shown that Warren G. Harding was "his own master" from 1920 to 1923 and that he worked hard as President, exhibiting ordinary intelligence, then much has been accomplished. Such a case has been made, very ably, by Andrew Sinclair, using the newly opened Harding Papers. Sinclair, a young Englishman, is already known for his *Era of Excess*. He has set for himself in this book the task of shattering myths that surround the Harding era and explaining what really happened. How could such a man as Harding, admittedly a "second-rate reactionary," make his way to the White House, via the nomination process and a landslide vote in 1920? Why, within a few years, did his reputation slip so disastrously? The author views Harding as a product of the country and small town and tends to blame rural-thinking people for the rise of Harding as well as for nativism and various wrongheaded or simple-minded ideas. But he also stresses factors of luck and historical coincidence that, at first, helped the man from Marion and then badly damaged his image. The first ten chapters (Part I) are devoted to the "Necessary Myths" that carried Harding from Blooming Grove, Ohio, to the United States Senate and then from "The Presidential State" of Ohio to the White House. Part II is concerned with Harding and the realities of power, while a final section considers the "Posthumous Myths."

The author argues, convincingly, that Harding was a man of ability and of "great presence." Harry Daugherty and others did not have the influence usually attributed to them. Rather, Harding was the "self-made man," rising to importance in "shoddy Ohio towns," never questioning "the easy assumptions of right and wrong" that he knew there. In politics he played the role of an "innocent" and a "Reluctant Candidate" while, in fact, he was a clever, even subtle, politician. His career in the Senate revealed an Ohioan making the right moves for the Republican nomination. Luck was also required. When Theodore Roosevelt died in 1919 and the front-runners in the convention of 1920 were deadlocked, Harding had his great chance. The victory in 1920 was a "referendum" for Harding, not a vote *against* the Democrats. For the Republican nominee appealed to "rural nostalgia," including that of millions in the cities, and he made himself an exceedingly popular candidate.

Of Harding's years in the presidency, Sinclair concludes that the Ohioan gained in stature and virtually worked (and played) himself to death. The myth of a violent death is rejected. That Harding had at least two mistresses is accepted as fact. (But, declares Sinclair, other Presidents had mistresses too; Harding just had the bad luck to acquire one who wrote a book.) The decline in the dead President's reputation is attributed in part to the "onslaught" of intellectuals, who made him a "scapegoat" of his times and of the "values of the small town."

Sinclair is a gifted writer, who has made a very substantial contribution. But the book has weaknesses. Some of it seems hastily written and thinly researched. There are too many mistakes relating to issues and events, too many statements without supporting evidence. There is too much reliance on catchy ideas. In considering, for example, Harding's doctrine "of the normal," the author says that it did not originate in the Republican party. And he goes on: "It was primitive Democratic doctrine, based on the thinking of William Jennings Bryan and the South, that anybody could govern, that leadership was dangerous, and that excellence was somewhat un-American." To say the least, the book is interesting and provocative.

University of Illinois

J. LEONARD BATES

THE HIGH MINISTRY OF GOVERNMENT: THE POLITICAL CAREER OF FRANK MURPHY. By *Richard D. Lunt*. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1965. Pp. 263. \$8.50.)

DURING a span of thirty years beginning in 1919 Frank Murphy of Michigan enjoyed a distinguished public career as federal assistant district attorney for the eastern district of Michigan, judge of the Detroit Recorder's Court, mayor of Detroit, governor general and high commissioner of the Philippines, governor of Michigan, Attorney General of the United States, and, finally, justice of the United States Supreme Court. Not only was he a fascinating individual in his own right, but he also had the happy faculty, from the historian's viewpoint, of being constantly at the center of great events. As a Recorder's Court judge, he presided over the famous Sweet trials; he was mayor of Detroit during the darkest days of the Great Depression; he was in the Philippines when its status changed from dependency to commonwealth; he became governor of Michigan just as a wave of sit-down strikes hit the state; he was Attorney General of the United States during

the troubled year when war broke out in Europe; and he served on the Supreme Court during one of the most exciting periods of its history.

Although Murphy died more than fifteen years ago, Professor Lunt's work is the first book-length biography of the Michigander. On the ground that he is concerned with only the political phase of Murphy's career, Lunt terminates his study in 1940, when Murphy was elevated to the Supreme Court. As a matter of fact, the author is really interested only in Murphy's career in the 1930's, for he dismisses in less than three full pages Murphy's service as assistant district attorney and as Recorder's Court judge. In view of the political focus of the book, one can, with some reservations, accept Lunt's omission of the Supreme Court phase of Murphy's life, but it is difficult to justify his neglect of Murphy's premayoralty public service, for it was during that time that Murphy gained the reputation and forged the political alliances that were so important to his subsequent political career.

Although the author examined some of the manuscript collections that illuminate his subject, his research is far from impressive. The chief omission is the Frank Murphy Papers, unavailable until after Lunt had completed his manuscript and for whose availability he chose not to wait before publishing. In addition, he has neglected a substantial number of manuscript collections and published sources relevant to his subject. Lack of depth in research has produced errors on such matters as the length of Murphy's service as assistant district attorney, the Sweet trials, the issuance of scrip in Detroit, the law of labor relations in Michigan, and various aspects of the General Motors and Chrysler sit-down strikes.

Thin in research, this book is also relatively thin in content. Despite the focus on Murphy's political career, there is too little about Murphy's political style, his tactics as a campaigner, and the structure of politics in Detroit and Michigan. Harry Mead managed four of Murphy's campaigns, but his name does not appear in these pages. In his discussion of the Philippines, Lunt has nothing at all to say about such important matters as the control of sugar production in the archipelago and the differences between Murphy and General MacArthur regarding the defense establishment of the commonwealth, and he manages to discuss the Sakdalista revolt without mentioning Benigno Ramos. Though the author tells us that Murphy's contributions to the New Deal are "a major theme" of his book, the content of the little New Deals in the Philippines and Michigan is all too briefly set forth. It is clear that the author has a favorable opinion of Murphy, but Murphy the human being, as distinguished from Murphy the public figure, simply does not emerge in this book.

This straightforward, unpretentious, and easy to follow account of some phases of Murphy's career has many shortcomings as a biography, but it should help to draw attention to a remarkable public servant who truly viewed government service as a "high ministry."

University of Michigan

SIDNEY FINE

A SUPREME COURT JUSTICE IS APPOINTED. By *David J. Danelski*. [Studies in Political Science.] (New York: Random House. 1964. Pp. x, 242. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$2.95.)

To say that this book suggests a rollicking story about a serious subject is a compliment. Professor Danelski has written a suspenseful account of the causes and

consequences of Pierce Butler's appointment to the Supreme Court by President Harding in 1922. The book is skillfully written, well documented, and adequately indexed.

The opening chapters of the book give an account of Butler's early life in Minnesota, his notable rise in the legal profession as a corporation specialist, and his work as a conservative justice who held liberal views about procedural law. The study does not, however, basically change already existing popular notions about appointments to the Court and their implications for the national welfare. But it does give a generous amount of detail to clarify and support them, and the reader will be impressed by the amount of trafficking especially invited when an appointment is being made by a hesitant President.

The concluding chapters may be said to comprise the most novel part of the book. Here the author deals with Butler in terms of motivational patterns on a broad enough scale to involve not only etiology and psychodynamics but the science of semantics as well. This is quite an advance beyond the limited interpretational ideas espoused by Charles A. Beard.

In studying the mysterious world of the mind where there are few amateurs and few specialists, Danelski is quite privileged to try his hand at analysis, for the reader is treated to a thoughtful though somewhat inconclusive exercise in a new and fruitful field. But it will also encourage him to consult the seventeenth-century political philosophers and read what they had to say about the nature of man and the character of the ideal commonwealth.

The book also invites a rereading of the scanty Philadelphia records related to the constitutional establishment of the Supreme Court and a rethinking of the contemporary challenges facing this body. Which is the best agency—legislature or court—for defining the privileges of citizens today, and how are their liberties best preserved? Is it by popular voice expressed in congresses or through definition by lifetime jurists knowledgeable about abstract law?

Danelski handles these questions as being eternal in character, which indeed they are. He concludes his book with a brief epilogue that says as much by refraining from prophecy.

Whittier College

PAUL S. SMITH

AMERICAN LIBERALISM AND WORLD POLITICS, 1931-1941: LIBERALISM'S PRESS AND SPOKESMEN ON THE ROAD BACK TO WAR BETWEEN MUKDEN AND PEARL HARBOR. In two volumes. By *James J. Martin*. Foreword by *John Chamberlain*. (New York: Devin-Adair Company. 1964. Pp. xxiii, 652; ix, 654-1337. \$22.50 the set.)

In some thirteen hundred pages—the number is symbolic—this huge compilation sets out writings on world politics in the so-called “liberal” press, mainly the *Nation* and the *New Republic*, from September 18, 1931, to Pearl Harbor, and seeks to show “the most sensational mass-somersault in opinion ever performed in the intellectual history of this country—one almost equal to a putative transformation of the Abolitionists of 1860 into advocates of a slavery system for Negroes after 1865.” That is, the author describes the movement of liberal opinion from support of world peace to support of war. He knows the difficulty of the word “liberal” and prefers to say that liberals are people who call themselves such. He

believes they have exerted an intellectual hegemony (the author's phrase) over the United States since 1917 akin only to the Metternichean domination of Europe between 1815 and 1848. He dislikes this liberal domination. To his present analysis he promises a sequel that will take liberal hegemony down to the New Frontier.

It is difficult to consider the present work as anything other than a scholarly disaster. One can only sympathize with the author who must have spent hundreds of hours in his task of accumulating thousands upon thousands of four-by-six cards, more probably five-by-eight cards. Such labor deserved a better result than this impossible goulash of quotation, summary, and editorial comment. It is one thing not to like the *Nation* and the *New Republic* and other such journals, and another to construct a doorstep like this. As for the somersault, mentioned above, there was some foolish opinion in the 1930's, but it needs no study of this size. World peace collapsed during those saddening years, and men of good will and intelligence changed their minds. After all, it became a fight against the most amoral government since the statistically clouded times of Genghis Khan.

Indiana University

ROBERT H. FERRELL

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1943. Volume V, THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS. [Department of State Publication 7813.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1965. Pp. vii, 932. \$3.25.)

THIS volume, the first of two concerning the American republics, includes documents relating generally to regional affairs and others relating specifically to Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, and Chile. Most of them concern economic matters and demonstrate United States carrot and stick diplomacy involving control of exports and shipping, together with suggestions that postwar benefits dispensed through the UNRRA would flow in the Americas mainly to nations cooperating in the war effort. Colombia attempted unsuccessfully to form a bloc of republics not at war with the Axis for the purpose of resisting such pressure and bargaining for benefits, wartime and postwar. Argentina remained the chief problem for the United States, serving as a center for subversion, espionage, and communication with the Axis Powers.

Several well-documented incidents attract attention. Henry Wallace visited Chile not long after that nation broke off diplomatic relations with the Axis, stopping in each Pacific state en route, and enjoying a remarkable personal success wherever he went. His honesty and simplicity, and his interest in helping the poor—he made unscheduled trips through the slum areas of several cities he visited—provoked an enthusiastic popular response. Another incident relates to the US Army's emergency highway construction project in Central America, which had been estimated to cost twenty million dollars and cost almost forty million before being even half completed. So dislocating to national economies was this inflow of money, matériel, and men that severe withdrawal symptoms began to appear when the army liquidated the project.

The editors provide the excellent footnotes and cross references usually found in these volumes, but the index is not as thorough as it might be.

Kent State University

MAURY BAKER

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1944. Volume III, THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND EUROPE. [Department of State Publication 7889.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1965. Pp. viii, 1478. \$4.75.)

THIS volume might well be entitled "The Confessions of Anglo-American Failures in the Beginnings of the Cold War." And ironically so, for they were coincident with the fast-moving diplomacy of the first major Allied-Soviet victories over the Axis.

Among the confessions of importance is the Anglo-American failure in liberated Albania to fill the political void left in the wake of the Axis retreat. As there were no ready plans to fill the void, Soviet cold war diplomacy carefully maneuvered and easily won the commanding positions in the liberation processes. A similar Soviet success in Bulgaria was much more startling. Anglo-American armies broke up the Axis stronghold there at great costs, but this was followed by a belated and well-calculated Soviet declaration of war. Russian diplomatic-military machines moved swiftly and after a "bloodless 5-hour war" seized control of the liberation. British officials were astonished. But in the name of Allied-Soviet unity, as Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden remarked, "we must accept the really embarrassing situation, however disagreeable it may be." Or as one American diplomat who faced the Soviet challenge eyeball to eyeball so aptly said: "We were aware that American-British-Soviet collaboration is not to be made or unmade over Bulgaria." Unfortunately, however, a similar course of Soviet cold war diplomacy followed in the wake of liberation through Hungary, Italy, and elsewhere.

Only less painful were the confessions of division within the Allied coalition. The trying days of French liberation were frequently troublesome, including those tortuous French efforts to return to major power status. De Gaulle's struggle for power, including his inspired "subtle anti-American" press campaign, was annoying. But it was hardly more than annoying, for as Roosevelt remarked to Churchill: "It seems clear that *prima donnas* do not change their spots."

There is also much here that reveals rough spots in Anglo-American diplomacy. Australia and New Zealand, out of fear of postwar peace settlements that might ignore their aspirations, challenged the Great Power coalition with threats of untimely separate peace-planning efforts. Secretary Hull was "flabbergasted" by such efforts of small nations everywhere to "participate in all major international decisions on a plane of equality with the Great Powers."

For those who have said that diplomacy languished in 1944, this superbly edited volume may well inspire a fresh look into these crucial incidents in the beginnings of the cold war.

Portland State College

MITCHELL WM. KERR

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1944. Volume V, THE NEAR EAST, SOUTH ASIA, AND AFRICA; THE FAR EAST. [Department of State Publication 7859.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1965. Pp. viii, 1345. \$4.25.)

THE papers collected here range broadly over such topics as the formulation of American policy on the exploitation of Middle Eastern oil, aid for liberated Greece,

trade with India, the status of Iran, establishment of American air routes through the Middle East, treatment accorded prisoners in the American-Japanese fighting, development of American policy toward a defeated Japan, and assorted aspects of the postwar status of Korea, Thailand, and the Philippines. Taken collectively, these papers document the State Department's growing concern, amid the pressures of war, with a world in which the United Nations would be triumphant. The department is revealed as attempting to assess the probable nature of that world and to establish guidelines for coping with it.

The largest run of papers makes abundantly clear what the State Department envisioned as a new and greatly enlarged role for Americans in the Middle East. To defeat the Axis the department cooperated with American firms in obtaining oil concessions, planned a pipeline terminating at a Mediterranean port, and cultivated Arab good will through technical and cultural assistance. But it was also clear that the gains thus made were to be retained beyond victory. The shaping of these plans, of course, was disturbed by discord that was to plague the United States after 1945: American and British policy must be coordinated; Arab-Zionist differences, which were aroused by a congressional resolution favoring the free entry of Jews into Palestine, must be smoothed over; and Soviet machinations in Iran and with regard to the Greek government-in-exile must be watched carefully.

With respect to Japan, a number of papers giving the substance of discussions bearing on the treatment of occupied Japanese territory will undoubtedly interest researchers. By February 1944 the State Department, responding to military requests for guidance in dealing with conquests, established policy bodies. Most of the memorandums printed here were produced by a special fifteen-member Inter-Divisional Area Committee on the Far East, an organization composed of career officers and academic specialists. The committee's discussions looked toward Japan's being stripped of its empire, demilitarized, and reoriented toward democracy. For those concerned with the more immediate problems of war, the difficulties in safeguarding prisoners are documented extensively.

North Carolina State University

BURTON F. BEERS

THE IDEAS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. By *Michael Donelan*. (Philadelphia: Dufour. 1965. Pp. 272. \$6.00.)

THESE ten essays do not make a significant contribution to the study of American foreign policy since V-J Day. The narrative is encumbered with undigested quotations, inconsequential dates, and unidentified forgotten incidents. The book lacks a bibliography, and only the most obvious sources are cited in the highly unconventional system of documentation.

The task of isolating the "underlying ideas" promised in the preface is a wearisome one, for the style of the book is heavy handed and obtuse. A second reading, however, reveals a benevolent but telling criticism of almost all recent American diplomatic decisions. Yet one does find a sincere appreciation for Washington's aid in the rehabilitation of Western Europe.

Mr. Donelan's judgments are based upon a number of presuppositions. He thinks that in 1945 the United States acted in a "revolutionary" manner by trying to impose a democratic pattern upon the conduct of international relations. In

contrast, Russia's approach was "traditional," for, in the timeless fashion of great powers, the Soviet Union sought to exploit its military victory by securing control over adjacent regions of Eastern Europe. Citing many examples, Donelan complains that Washington stubbornly refused to concede that Communist nations are entitled to their share of "legitimate anxieties" and normal political interests.

The author's conclusions will appeal to readers who share his conviction that the Communist plan for world domination is a bugbear of the imagination. Americans, he charges, took Marxist theory too literally and became obsessed with a fear of unbridled Communist expansionism not warranted by the facts. Hence Washington refused to view the situation for what it was, a clash of national interests, and insisted upon magnifying it into a conflict of irreconcilable ideologies. Donelan is particularly critical of the American reaction toward non-European problems. With the onset of the Korean War Washington recklessly extended the policies of regional collective security and containment to Asia, thereby "importing the East-West struggle" into that uneasy continent. A similar mistake in the Middle East helped lure the Soviets into a region of the world beyond the scope of their original interests. We are told, however, that the Americans profited from their mistakes. Therefore Washington did not try to impose a SEATO or a Baghdad Pact upon the emergent African states, but wisely allowed their security interests to be covered by the United Nations.

While this book was published in 1965, the narrative ends with the close of 1962. Some of the author's sparing commendations are reserved for John F. Kennedy's diplomatic realism. Doubtlessly Donelan would now argue that President Johnson has reversed his predecessor's wholesome "shift of perspective" toward the solution of global problems.

State University of New York, Buffalo

SELIG ADLER

A PERIL AND A HOPE: THE SCIENTISTS' MOVEMENT IN AMERICA:

1945-47. By *Alice Kimball Smith*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 591. \$10.00.)

To those who participated in it, the scientists' movement of 1945-1947 was more than a crusade; it was an effort to tell an unprepared world that an entirely new era in history had dawned. The movement spoke for all of science, and with some pain expanded itself from the Federation of Atomic Scientists to the Federation of American Scientists, but its center of gravity remained with that portion of the scientific community which, almost unknown to its fellow men, had built the bomb. Atomic physics was most of science; Hiroshima and Nagasaki were most of history; international control of atomic energy was most of diplomacy; freeing science from unnecessary security restrictions was most of public administration; domestic control of atomic energy was most of politics. Even the bread-and-butter issues of professional scientists' regular organizations or a national research foundation—things that the federations could discuss and endorse—were rigidly subordinated to the few issues at the center of a new universe of policy, which the scientists' movement separated from all others. They looked like a lobby and acted like a lobby, but they were driven by the belief that the survival of mankind depended on them. Some accomplishments endured after 1947—the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* was certainly one—but the unique excursion of

the group into the political arena was dependent on a high disparity between the little group who understood the "facts" of the atomic age and the rest of mankind.

Alice Kimball Smith, educated in history and married to an important atomic scientist (who is, incidentally, a distinguished historian of metallurgy), has brought to this book a wealth of personal experience and acquaintance, an immense industry in tracking down the participants in the movement, and a meticulous familiarity with the papers of the scientists' organization gathered in the library of the University of Chicago. Immensely detailed, the book sometimes becomes a chronicle of an endless series of committee meetings and their resulting manifestoes, carefully dated almost to the hour and attributed to every possible collaborator. In this enumeration the position of the main actors within the movement—James Franck, Leo Szilard, Edward Teller, Eugene Rabinowitz, and the host of young Americans who joined them—gradually emerges. Those who were not a part of the movement itself but who dealt with it and tried to understand it—Arthur Compton, J. Robert Oppenheimer, Enrico Fermi, and at a farther remove even James B. Conant—come out clearly. The reader has trouble getting an understandable view of the role of Vannevar Bush, however. The wartime director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development lay beyond the group's comprehension and so beyond the book's penetration. The same is true of the larger issues of the reconversion and rebuilding of institutions in this extremely important period. One occasionally feels almost as if Smith were using the "fog of war" technique, allowing the reader to know only what the scientists knew at the time. Yet she does apply hindsight, as when she softens the portrait of General Leslie R. Groves.

In the midst of much bad and irresponsible writing, enough scholars are examining the dawn of the atomic age that one can begin to describe the result as a literature. The author has certainly made a telling contribution, not only in her meticulous narrative but also in references to large bodies of source material. Some of it is conventional in the sense that it is open to other scholars for verification. But many references also suggest a pool of private evidence both in letters to the author and in oral interviews. The atomic scientists will undoubtedly turn into one of the most interviewed groups of all time. The historical profession should be concerned that future historians will find this body of evidence available in an organized form and that they will not curse the interviewers for failing to ask the right questions. Smith chose subjects she knew well and labored hard to capture what they themselves saw as their moment in history.

University of California, Berkeley

A. HUNTER DUPREE

SCHOOLS FOR STRATEGY: EDUCATION AND RESEARCH IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS. By *Gene M. Lyons* and *Louis Morton*. With a foreword by *John W. Masland*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965. Pp. xii, 356. \$7.50.)

THIS is an "intellectual history" of American military intellectuals. Its authors, a political scientist and a historian, sketch the history of this cold war phenomenon, analyze the approaches of the historian, the social scientist, the natural scientist, the lawyer, the businessman, and the publicist, and get to the heart of the matter in Parts III-IV with their detailed examination of current academic, governmental,

and private research programs. Though some of the material is necessarily dated and the separation of private and public university programs is meaningless, the result is a sharp, fair, critical handbook that should be consulted by anyone interested in this complex and often only too lucrative field. RAND is the best of the contract institutions; its success has been due to much more than its early appearance and relatively lavish financing. The program that I know best, the Duke-University of North Carolina Seminar, is correctly criticized for its failure to seek outside funds more aggressively and to relate more closely to the World Rule of Law Center.

Part V, "Perspectives on the Intellectual Response," naturally raises more questions than it answers. Not enough stress is placed on intellectual overhead when too many pioneers spend too much of their time in fund raising and paper shuffling. This is also true of the problems that arise when rather poorly financed universities, such as those in Washington, must balance teaching with better-paid research. Most significantly, the "extremely successful" Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research is tied to the well-financed ("A-A" in the 1964-1965 AAUP ratings) School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University ("B-B"). Not enough is made of the need for paid internships for military historians or of the new Smithsonian program in technological history. The "lesson" of this excellent book is the continuing need for the kind of cooperation that has recently transformed the histories of science and technology.

Duke University

THEODORE ROPP

THE PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES IN TRANSITION. By *Earl J. McGrath*. [Publications of the Institute of Higher Education.] ([New York:] Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University for the Institute. 1965. Pp. xv, 204. Cloth \$4.75, paper \$2.75.)

In this thorough study of the current status of the predominantly Negro college in America Mr. McGrath states that he will not provide a qualitative comparative institutional rating, but rather will try to provide an overview of the characteristics, the needs, and the prospects of the predominantly Negro institutions. He hopes that a statement of the weaknesses of some of the Negro colleges and of the needs of all will swell the flow of new support to these colleges.

Much of the material in this well-documented study is familiar: that the Negro colleges in America are badly in need of additional financial support to improve their faculties, their facilities, and their student bodies. He suggests that many of the nation's predominantly Negro colleges are in the same state now that many of the white colleges were in fifteen years ago. One of his major points, however, is that the predominantly Negro colleges vary as widely in quality and in character as the other institutions that constitute the American higher education enterprise. It is true, nevertheless, that if one ranked all the Negro institutions in America as compared to all institutions of higher education, more of the Negro institutions would fall in the lower than in the upper 50 per cent.

A major difficulty inhibiting the predominantly Negro institution has been the curricular pattern. Since the American Negro institutions enroll more women than men, and since teaching represented for the Negro one of the best avenues into the white-collar world, there has been an emphasis upon elementary and secondary-school education in the curriculum. Given the increased professional and busi-

ness opportunities open to the Negro in contemporary society, a basic need is to revise curricular patterns. The fact that many of these schools are located in the rural South also makes it difficult for Negro youth as they have limited opportunities for outside jobs. Since they will, however, remain the major source of Negro education for many years to come, these institutions should be strengthened rather than eliminated. He urges that the federal government pour vast sums of money into these colleges in order to raise standards.

In addition, he recommends that the Peace Corps experience be used to recruit young men and women to move into the Negro colleges and help tutor Negro youth. This would help buttress the necessary remedial work that the Negro college will have to continue for some years to come.

McGrath calls upon the foundations and other benefactors to assist the reasonably good, but not superior, predominantly Negro institutions. One would wish that he had not called upon foundations to give this support in order to gain "public acclaim," but he also insists that this support would make a lasting contribution to the welfare of the nation generally.

He cautions faculty members from white institutions to regard exchanges with Negro institutions as a means of improving Negro education rather than as a way of participating in the civil rights movement. He might have mentioned that this must also be true of student exchanges as well. Most Negro institutions are suspicious of any kind of paternalism on the part of the stronger white institutions, which would include both faculty exchanges and student exchanges.

This well-researched book includes much detailed information that would be helpful to anyone wanting to understand more about the predominantly Negro college in America. In addition to the text, the author has included a series of appendixes, detailing the location, curricular patterns, and financial status of these colleges, and an excellent bibliography. One might wish that he had included an index, but because the book is sufficiently short, this does not represent an insurmountable difficulty.

Colgate University

KENNETH B. O'BRIEN, JR.

INTEGRATION AT OLE MISS. By *Russell H. Barrett*. Foreword by *James W. Silver*. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1965. Pp. 270. \$4.95.)

THIS account of the events surrounding James H. Meredith's attendance in 1962-1963 as the first Negro student at the University of Mississippi is written by an eyewitness and participant. Then and now a professor of political science at the university, Mr. Barrett was president of the local chapter of the American Association of University Professors during the crisis. He was the leader in several efforts to "save the university" by restoring order and academic freedom. During the night of the rioting, September 30, 1962, he was trapped in a campus building for hours while the turmoil swirled around him, and he was one of the faculty night patrol that later restored a modicum of order. One of the few campus citizens with the temerity to drink coffee with Meredith, he gives an elaborate explanation of why he did not take the extreme course of breaking bread with him.

Barrett calmly collected the documents of the crisis and presents them here in a reliable, factual review. What was *sang-froid* during the crisis, however, becomes dullness in the narrative. Though this is good journalism, it lacks the historical

perspective and polemical style of James W. Silver's best seller dealing in part with the same events. Barrett's frame of reference is not Mississippi's "closed society" nor the traditional dichotomy of black and white, redneck and planter, but the relatively open society of the university. Though sometimes critical of the university leaders, Barrett does not condemn them wholesale. Ole Miss, he reminds his readers, is neither a great university as some Mississippians think nor a part of the academic underworld, but "an average Southern university" that faced a greater than average challenge. Among the heroes of Barrett's narrative are Professor Silver, the Reverend Duncan M. Gray of Oxford, an English professor who left her sick bed to sign a crucial AAUP resolution, and two successive editors of the student newspaper, all of whom urged orderly compliance. But the basic theme of this book is failure to prepare for or maintain compliance with a just judicial decision. Barrett rests the chief blame, of course, on Governor Ross Barnett, the Citizens' Councils, and yahoo elements among the students. He also criticizes court delays that encouraged resistance, federal government decisions to bring Meredith to the campus on Sunday with inadequate force for his protection, state troopers' refusal to deter rioting, and the pusillanimous professors and administrators who allowed the state government to make what were essentially educational decisions. Even Meredith is criticized for not conferring with his well-wishers before several unfortunate press releases.

This is an undramatic but honest and reliable book.

University of Cincinnati

LOUIS R. HARLAN

THE DIARY AND SELECTED PAPERS OF CHIEF JUSTICE WILLIAM SMITH, 1784-1793. Volume II, THE DIARY, OCTOBER 6, 1785 TO MAY 18, 1787; SELECTED PAPERS, 1785 TO 1793. Edited by L. F. S. Upton. [Publications of the Champlain Society, Volume XLII.] (Toronto: the Society. 1965. Pp. xli, 335. Available only to members of the Society.)

THE second volume of Chief Justice Smith's *Diary and Papers* contains material of much greater importance to the student of Canadian history than did the first. The *Diary* itself increases in interest as his departure for Canada approaches. One matter worth noting is that Smith's efforts to persuade the British Treasury to pay him arrears of salary due to him (as he believed) as Chief Justice of New York were never successful. On the other hand, when he at last presented his claim for property losses to the Commissioners on Loyalist Claims, he received prompt and courteous treatment.

The record of his first months in Quebec and his letters to his wife, who had not yet been able to make the journey from New York, are of real interest as a record of what living was like in Canadian cities in 1786. Most important, however, are Smith's drafts for the letters and memorandums he sent to Lord Dorchester and also for the letters he wrote to Evan Nepean, Brook Watson, and others in England, expressing his own views on the policies essential to the better government of Canada and its future prosperity as a British colony. Lord Dorchester was dependent on his Chief Justice to investigate the working of the courts, reforms needed in the land system, and many other subjects. Smith furnished not only the substance of his investigations but also drafts for some of the most important dispatches that Dorchester wrote before 1793. Dorchester did not always ac-

cept Smith's version, and indeed the views of the two men as to what was necessary and important were by no means identical. But Dorchester was so torn between his desire to maintain a certain consistency between the views he had expressed in England between 1770 and 1774 and the favorable position he adopted after 1782 toward the loyalists that he probably welcomed Smith's straightforward statement and positive expressions of his own views. Smith showed more statesmanship in his memorandums on education, on the need for a liberalization of the naturalization laws for Canada, and on the proper interpretation of the Constitution of 1791 than one might have expected considering his strong pro-English and anti-French bias.

Upton's editing and introduction are excellent. It would seem to me, however, that the wording of some of the footnotes and brief introductions is unfortunate if not actually incorrect.

Bryn Mawr College

HELEN TAFT MANNING

CANADA AND IMPERIALISM, 1896-1899. By *Norman Penlington*. ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 288. \$7.50.)

In *Canada and Imperialism* (which might more appropriately have been titled "Canada in the North Atlantic Triangle") Professor Penlington has tackled three years in one of the key decades in Canadian history. The 1890's were years when Canada was forced by internal and external crises and pressures to re-examine its traditional attitudes toward Great Britain and the United States, and, in groping for self-consciousness, to confront boldly the question of its own identity. Imperialism and nationalism, racism and nativism, continentalism and anti-Americanism battled for supremacy, though the alliances were often strange and the generalship uncertain. Only recently have historians realized the critical nature of the 1890's and the subtle and complex interrelationship of forces that shaped the decade.

This study is thorough. After examining all available manuscript and printed sources for a three-year period that witnessed crises in Canadian-American and Anglo-Canadian relations, the author has reached a conclusion which, if not new, has never before been expressed so firmly. Imperialism (or Canada's attachment to and enthusiasm for the Empire and imperial unity) and anti-Americanism, he argues, were the reverse sides of the coin. Anti-Americanism was responsible in large measure for the enthusiasm for imperial unity and was the outlet for the expression of a form of jingoism that closely resembled that in the United States and Great Britain in the years of the Spanish-American and Boer Wars.

One might argue that the generalization is firmer than the evidence. The very similarity of jingoism in the three countries, moreover, begs the question as to whether the causes were not much the same, and thus whether one need search for particularly idiosyncratic causes in Canada. Finally, Penlington minimizes, if he does not completely overlook, internal issues such as the conflict between French and English, Catholic and Protestant (at a time when the English-Canadian and Protestant majority was attempting to define Canadian nationalism in Anglo-Saxon, racist, and nativist terms) as a source of imperialism. Indeed, imperialism, a word that itself needs careful definition in this instance, can be considered the reverse side of the coins jingled by many English-Canadian nationalists. (Many of the leaders of the imperialist crusade, for example, had just returned from

a crusade to confine all that was French to the beleaguered fortress of Quebec.)

These criticisms, to which might be added a sometimes obscure and overburdened style, are not intended to suggest that the work is not an extremely important addition to the literature that no scholar can afford to neglect, but rather to argue that Penlington, like so many of us, may have still missed the convincing synthesis. The book is also of value to students of American diplomatic history, who, like detached Canadian readers, will enjoy the indignant outburst of the New York *Commercial Advertiser* when Canada threatened the success of the Joint High Commission in 1899: "it is pretty hard for Americans to be patient with these crass provincials, with their Brummagem titles and pinchbeck patriotism, their twopenny nationality and their Gargantuan diplomacy, their intrusion of their noisy and noisome home politics into grave business between real nations. . . ."

York University

JOHN T. SAYWELL

SÜD- UND MITTELAMERIKA. Part 1, DIE INDIANERKULTUREN ALT-AMERIKAS UND DIE SPANISCH-PORTUGIESISCHE KOLONIAL-HERRSCHAFT. Edited by *Richard Konetzke*. [Fischer Weltgeschichte, Number 22.] ([Frankfurt am Main:] Fischer Bücherei. 1965. Pp. 390.)

It is gratifying to observe a scholar emerging after many years of spadework with a comprehensive survey covering an extensive and highly diversified area. Richard Konetzke has provided such pleasure in this volume. Part of the so-called "Fischer Weltgeschichte," it is devoted to the early history of South and Central America. Konetzke has spent many years working in the Spanish archives and in United States libraries; he has gained an exceptional knowledge of source material as well as the secondary works of European and American historians. Now in his mature years he offers a summary of his research that should attract the attention of all Latin Americanists.

Organized along traditional lines, the book begins with the pre-Columbian civilizations and with a discussion of the attitudes of the American Indians toward their European conquerors. This chapter is rather dry and matter of fact; obviously Konetzke is not particularly impressed with the aboriginal cultures revealed through recent archaeological discoveries. He is more in his element when he describes the legal foundations of the Iberian colonization in the Western Hemisphere and the *Siedlungspolitik und Siedlungsformen*. An excellent section on the demographic structure of the new colonial empires, which takes up the question of the yearly aggregate of Spanish emigrants to the New World and their particular Spanish origin follows. His results are offered with the proper safeguards as to the statistical uncertainty of the available figures. The forced immigration of African slaves is also treated with knowledgeable circumspection. Historians and anthropologists will welcome Konetzke's discussion of the general population movement during the era. This is also true for the chapter dealing with Spanish and Portuguese policy toward the native population with its inherent contradiction of Christian principles and of economic and social necessities that led to the well-known institutions of the *repartimiento* and the *encomienda*, the *encomiendas* and the *mita*. Some comment on the consequences of these institutions for the future society of Latin American countries would have been valuable, but the author limits himself to a description of the actualities of colonial times.

The ecclesiastical policy of the two European powers is adequately treated, with much detailed information about the Church in operation. The economic attitude of Spain and Portugal toward their new possessions is of special interest to any student of Latin America since it is here that we may look for the roots of the social and economic ills that still bedevil the continent. Konetzke surveys the fiscal policy of the Iberian countries as well as the activities in the mining industry, in agriculture, and in the arts and crafts. The cultural life of the colonial period is somewhat summarily treated.

Taken in its entirety, the book is a most useful addition to the histories of colonial Latin America already in existence. It is broader in scope than Haring's analysis of the Spanish Empire and more systematic than the volume by Madariaga. Although it lacks the brilliant style of the Spanish writer, it is more solid and comprehensive. Fully annotated, it has an analytical index that facilitates its use.

Free University of Berlin

GERHARD MASUR

SOLORZANO Y LA POLÍTICA INDIANA. By *Javier Malagón* and *José M. Ots Capdequí*. [Sección de obras de Historia.] (México, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1965. Pp. 117.)

A MAGISTRATE with a wealth of practical experience, Juan de Solórzano Pereira (1575-1655) served in both the *audiencia* of Lima and in the Council of the Indies. He was also the author of a series of erudite works that are some of the most informative sources available describing the workings of the complex and intricate bureaucracy of the Habsburg monarchy. Best known for his *Política Indiana*, Solórzano also played a major role in editing the great digest of colonial legislation, the *Recopilación*.

The very nature of his career and his own intellectual temperament prevented him from making broad and bold theoretical speculations. While he was willing to take controversial stands on specific bureaucratic practices, he avoided a direct confrontation on more explosive issues such as the confusing division of authority between the *audiencias* and the viceroys. Yet Solórzano represented some of the most admirable features of the bureaucratic administration he served with such diligence. He was cautious, moderate, and judicious, with a keen sense of responsibility and service.

This essay by two distinguished scholars will be republished again in the new edition of the *Política Indiana*, which the *Fondo de Cultura* will eventually issue. The essay is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the biography of Solórzano and the second with his political thought. The biographical aspect is the most concise synthesis on the subject that has appeared. Only one flaw exists: the authors' failure to deal with the complex of events that led the aged and deaf Solórzano to request an honorable retirement. He led the vain fight against the plan of Philip IV to deprive the Council of the Indies of its voice in recommending appointments in the Indies in favor of a smaller committee or *cámara*. The authors' discussion of the political thought of Solórzano is necessarily quite selective and in no way exhaustive. Sound and judicious, it represents a useful contribution indeed.

University of Wisconsin

JOHN LEDDY PHELAN

THE WEST INDIES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF COLONIAL GOVERNMENT, 1801-1834. By *D. J. Murray*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 264. \$5.60.)

In an outstanding contribution to British West Indian studies, D. J. Murray has drawn on a rich variety of sources to trace the history of British colonial policy and administration from the late eighteenth century to the time of the emancipation of the slaves. The work is superbly organized and thoroughly documented. For the most part the author centers his attention on London and the Colonial Office, rather than on the colonies themselves. Because their "particular problems . . . set them apart," the Bahamas and British Honduras are excluded as subjects in the author's account.

If this book can be said to have a dominating thesis, it is that the problem of slavery and the growth of the antislavery movement in Britain forced the British government to move away more and more from the old pattern of representative government that had left the colonies a large measure of practical autonomy. In the colonies added as a result of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, crown colony status became the rule. Even the colonies with elected assemblies were made to feel the increasing impact of the Colonial Office and of Parliament. The abolition of slavery by Parliament came only as the culmination of a long trend toward greater British interference in the affairs of the British West Indies. But Murray demonstrates that British policy in 1834 was far from being committed to the extinction of self-government in the British Caribbean. Some influential statesmen felt that the ending of slavery removed the need for close British supervision of the colonies. Perhaps the one disappointing feature of this book is that it fails to continue its story to the time of the almost universal suppression of representative government in the British West Indies in the later nineteenth century.

University of Texas

J. HARRY BENNETT

CENTRAL AMERICA. By *Mario Rodríguez*. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1965. Pp. xi, 178. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.)

ALTHOUGH not the detailed history needed for Central America, this book is a welcome publication. Though it emphasizes postwar developments, Professor Rodríguez' interpretive essays on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reflect discerning study and understanding of both recent scholarship and older sources. If his six pages on the colonial period fail to satisfy some, they at least contain carefully chosen and well-studied generalizations regarding the colonial mentality.

After spending more than a quarter of the book describing Central America since 1954, Rodríguez turns to the region's history from the beginning of the nineteenth century. His chapter on that century summarizes the attempts and failures at confederation and is drawn to a considerable extent, perhaps excessively so, from the author's previous works. Rodríguez' explanation of nearly everything from 1837 to 1871 in terms of British agent Frederick Chatfield, however enlightening, ignores a number of highly significant aspects of the history of the

period. Rodríguez presents a more balanced account of the period since 1871. He pays particular attention to the role of the United States in the region during the twentieth century. Throughout the work he notes the resurgent, if often frustrated, trend of liberalism in Central American politics.

Sympathetic to the policies of John F. Kennedy, and carefully analyzing current political, social, and economic conditions in Central America, Rodríguez warns that the emphasis in US policy since the assassination of the late President is "again on the military solution." Rodríguez predicts that such a policy "will inevitably frustrate and undermine our natural allies throughout Latin America, the modern democratic elements, and force them into the neutralist camp." He calls, therefore, for getting the Alliance for Progress "back on the road which President Kennedy intended."

Here is a thoughtful and provocative summary for students and scholars, as well as a valuable introduction to the region for prospective travelers. The ample bibliographical essay appended to the work enhances substantially the usefulness of the volume. This is a brief book, but not hurried; too many historians have spent twice as many pages without saying half as much.

University of North Carolina

RALPH LEE WOODWARD, JR.

VERSIÓN FRANCESA DE MÉXICO: INFORMES DIPLOMÁTICOS. Volume II, 1858-1862. Translated with an introduction by *Lilia Díaz*. ([México, D.F.:] Colegio de México. 1964. Pp. xxiii, 484.)

THIS second volume continues the publication of official documents and semi-official reports from the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Relations in Paris. The documents in the present volume date from late February 1858, a month after the enforced exile of President Ignacio Comonfort and the short-lived victory of Félix Zuloaga and the Conservatives. Nearly two hundred pages are devoted to detailed reports of Alexis de Gabriac or his assistant on the political and military aspects of the bitter War of Reform when many Conservatives were begging Napoleon III to come to their aid. Another hundred pages contain the communications of Gabriac's successor, Alphonse Dubois de Saligney, reporting on the growing problems of the Juárez administration. The final section of the volume comprises many documents concerning the preparations for the tripartite occupation of Mexico after the suspension on July 17, 1861, of all debt payments. Much is said of the problems facing the allies after the arrival of Admiral Jurien de la Gravière and the fleet. The collection ends with vague references to the meeting of General Prim and Manuel Doblado, Juárez' Secretary of Foreign Relations, and the disenchantment of England and Spain with the plans of the French.

Of interest to United States historians is an 1858 résumé of the activities of Poinsett and the Masons in the 1820's; the presumed reluctance of the US to join in diplomatic action against Mexico (reluctance that culminated in Seward's circular letter of December 4, 1861, rejecting joint action); reaction to the proposed treaty, approved by Lincoln, by which the US would guarantee debt payments to European bondholders in return for liens on Mexican mining rights in border areas; the activities of John T. Pickett, former consul in Vera Cruz, as a Confederate agent; the sobering effect on Juárez of the news of Bull Run; and the assumption of the French agents that the US was not to be regarded as a

serious threat to French plans. The first two volumes of this series add much to the understanding of Mexican internal problems in the period leading up to the French occupation.

University of Georgia

RICHARD K. MURDOCH

REVOLUTION ON THE PAMPAS. A SOCIAL HISTORY OF ARGENTINE WHEAT, 1860-1910. By *James R. Scobie*. [Latin American Monographs, Number 1. Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas.] (Austin: University of Texas Press for the Institute. 1964. Pp. x, 206. \$5.00.)

THIS is a study in contrasts. The revolution that took place on the Argentine Pampas between 1860 and 1910 was economic: "The haunts of wild cattle, Indians, and gauchos had been transformed into cultivated fields and pastures. A land that had produced only scrawny sheep and cattle was now one of the world's leading exporters of wheat, corn, mutton, and wool." Yet the social product of this achievement added up to so much "plus ça change. . . ." The economic part of the account is familiar, though Mr. Scobie tells it better than most. His social history of the cultivations that made the metamorphosis possible, which he generalizes in terms of wheat, portrays a kind of deceptive vitality in this phase of Argentine development that has been communicated only vaguely by other writers.

The revolution on the Pampas was the work of immigrants. Inspired by the example of the United States, the federal government undertook to attract European farmers to Argentina to settle the vast emptiness of the interior. Agricultural colonies were contemplated, and a number were established between 1856 and 1890. As a system, however, colonization was doomed (although some of the colonies succeeded) because the provinces, not the federal government, owned the public lands, and the landowners who dominated provincial legislatures were not always inclined to make the necessary grants. They needed agricultural laborers to tame the wild lands, but wanted no permanent settlements of small farmers breaking up the open range. As the Indian menace on the frontier was eliminated, the public lands passed into private ownership in large blocks so that by 1885 the question of agricultural colonies became largely academic. Arrivals from Europe who had been recruited for farm labor no longer had much hope of acquiring land. Most of them therefore elected to remain in the port cities, usually Buenos Aires, but there were always those who were hardy enough to try their fortune as tenant farmers or sharecroppers. It is Scobie's thesis that these men and their families were in a special way as much migrants as the "swallows"—seasonal workers attracted to Argentina from Italy annually by the good wages paid at harvest time. In general, each landlord-tenant arrangement was a short terminal contract (from two to six years). The tenant was required to break the tough Pampas sod, to grow the single crop specified by the owner—almost invariably wheat—and after the final year's harvest to plant the whole area to alfalfa for the cattle that most owners intended to make their main crop. (An alfalfa planting was expected to last ten to fifteen years.) Then the cultivator would move on to repeat the laborious process on another plot of land, a form of shifting cultivation not contemplated by the usual meaning of the term.

The author is preoccupied with the unmitigated ugliness of the transient farmer's life and of the compulsion to amass a competence to be enjoyed at home

later that drove many of them into what in their circumstances was extensive farming, often self-defeating. They could have escaped to Buenos Aires and found employment in one of the industries stimulated or created by the agriculture of the Pampas; many Pampas farmers did and at the same time found the companionship of compatriots and the churches, schools, and other social amenities that the impermanence and isolation of Pampas life did not nourish. In any event, it was in the port cities, rather than on the land, that the permanent effects of the agricultural revolution were most evident. It is ironic that even there it accentuated the established rather than the new—the political dominance of Buenos Aires and the indifference toward the tiller of the soil, even by the landowners who were the chief beneficiaries of their capital forming labors.

There is a wealth of information in the 163 text pages. Tightly written as the book is, there is repetition, some of it effective. It is caused by the organization of each chapter into a self-contained unit. There are some inaccuracies. In a book that generalizes the spread of cultivation under the heading of wheat, it is a mistake to try to quantify the contribution in terms of wheat alone, as is done both in the text and in the statistical appendix. But these are minor matters. It is an excellent book; Scobie has an enviable flair for synthesis.

Stanford University

E. LOUISE PEPPER

MEMOIRS OF PANCHO VILLA. By *Martín Luis Guzmán*. Translated by *Virginia H. Taylor*. [The Texas Pan-American Series.] (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 512. \$8.50.)

A QUARTER of a century ago *Martín Luis Guzmán*, an extraordinary writer, completed an undertaking that had long fascinated him: the preparation of a life of Pancho Villa in autobiographical form. It was not until 1951, however, that an augmented second (not first as erroneously identified on the jacket of this work) edition appeared, here made available in English translation by *Virginia H. Taylor*.

Guzmán was motivated by aesthetic considerations to re-create "in the language and with the concepts of Francisco Villa, what he had been able to say about himself in fortune and adversity" and by partisan considerations "to make a more eloquent defense of Villa in the face of the iniquity with which the Mexican Counter-Revolution and its allies have unburdened themselves of their sins by setting him up as a target." The writer had available Villa's papers, including some manuscript books apparently transcribed in the field as Villa related his life story. In addition, having served with Villa, *Guzmán* had his own recollections and those of fellow *villistas* as well as more standard sources to fill in the gaps and to build around the autobiographical material. The result is a splendid literary achievement and a rich historical document tracing Villa's career with emphasis on his revolutionary experiences and posture until the series of massive military setbacks in the spring of 1915.

In her translated edition *Taylor* has sought to preserve the integrity of the original as far as form and essential content are concerned. Identical with the original is the five-part division of the text and the pattern of chapters each with its introductory paragraph of detailed subheadings. While *Guzmán* strove to introduce the redundancies and parallelisms characteristic of Villa's speech, the translator

admittedly has eliminated these in the interest of a more readable text. The character of Guzmán's Villa does come through in translation as does the sense of immediacy of revolutionary events.

Unfortunately no effort was made to provide some degree of editorial annotation that would have placed personalities and events into reasonable scholarly perspective. After all, this is a partisan historical document as well as a literary gem, and the nonspecialist would have been greatly aided by an editor's introduction, a limited number of annotations, and a modest list of additional recommended readings. Such an introduction also would have provided an appropriate vehicle for an explanation of the part of Villa's career that followed the events detailed in the volume. The publisher's half-page addendum of Villa's final eight years hardly seems adequate to the needs of the situation.

State University of New York, Stony Brook

STANLEY ROBERT ROSS

* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

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Historical News

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AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Service Center for Teachers of History now has sixty-two pamphlets in its series. Most recently published are Charles F. Delzell, *Italy in Modern Times: An Introduction to the Historical Literature in English*; Louis R. Harlan, *The Negro in American History*; and Gordon Wright, *France in the Twentieth Century*. Seventeen of the series are now in second or third editions, and other revisions are in progress. Fifteen new titles have been commissioned.

Pamphlets are fifty cents apiece. Orders of five dollars or less must be prepaid. A discount of 20 per cent is offered when quantities of fifty or more pamphlets are purchased. There will be no handling or postage charges on prepaid orders. If orders are to be billed, handling and postage charges will be added. Checks should be made payable to the Service Center for Teachers of History; orders should be sent to the Service Center, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D. C. 20003.

The Association publishes triennially the *List of Doctoral Dissertations in Progress or Completed at Colleges and Universities in the United States*. The *List* shows trends in research and serves to prevent duplication of work. The 1964 *List* was published last November. It and the 1961 *List* are available from the Association for \$1.50 apiece. The Association maintains a current file of dissertations in progress; forms for registering topics have been distributed to departments offering the doctorate. Additional forms will be furnished to departments or individuals upon request. Those registering titles of dissertations in progress should check previous *Lists* to prevent duplication. If an individual is changing topics, he should notify the Association of both the old and new titles.

Completed dissertation titles are now being published in the Association's *Annual Report*. The 1964 *Annual Report* carries titles for which the degree was awarded in 1963 and 1964. Subsequent *Annual Reports* will list titles for which degrees were awarded during the year.

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

The Library of Congress has received a first installment of the papers of Edward Bok (1863-1930) from Cary W. Bok and Mrs. Curtis Bok, son and daughter-in-law of the famous editor, reformer, and philanthropist. Included are the original manuscripts of *The Americanization of Edward Bok*, Pulitzer Prize-winning autobiography; of *Twice Thirty* (1924), an autobiographical work; and of Bok's biography of his father-in-law, Cyrus H. K. Curtis, *A Man from Maine* (1923). Two manuscripts reflecting Bok's musical interest, his poem, "God's Hand," which was set to music by Josef Hofmann, and a Hofmann manuscript dedicated to Bok, are also included. They have been placed in the Library's Music Division.

Reinhold Niebuhr, distinguished clergyman, author, reformer, and recipient

of the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1964, has deposited his papers in the Library; the Library's resources for the study of Niebuhr's life and work have been strengthened by a gift of additional papers from Congressman and Mrs. Jonathan Bingham of New York. The Niebuhr papers will also include those of Mrs. Niebuhr, chairman of the department of religion at Barnard College. Among the papers is the manuscript of "The Negro in Detroit," prepared in 1926 by an interracial committee appointed by the mayor of that city with Niebuhr as chairman. Much of the material documents his academic career during his long association with Union Theological Seminary in New York City, correspondence with his American and English publishers, and a large segment of personal correspondence.

Approximately one thousand papers of the late Robert E. Cecil have been presented to the Library by his children. Cecil, an American businessman in Manila, was interned by the Japanese early in January 1942 and was not released until the Philippines were liberated by American forces in February 1945. During this time Cecil served as the secretary of an executive committee that administered the internal affairs of the camp. His papers consist of minutes of the almost daily meetings of this committee, mimeographed bulletins and notices to the internees, lists and descriptive censuses of the camp population, regulations, and issues of camp publications. The material illustrates in detail the ingenuity and effort required for survival and the deterioration of conditions as the war progressed.

Smaller groups added to the Library's holdings include papers of the Adece family, which were received as a gift from Miss Joan Carroll Stansbury of Washington, D. C. Most of the material relates to Alvey Augustus Adece, who for thirty-six years was second Assistant Secretary, and frequently Acting Secretary, of State. There is also a series of letters written by his father, Augustus Alvey Adece, while he was a surgeon aboard the U. S. S. *Potomac* during a trip along the coast of South America. Miss Gretchen Hood, also of Washington, D. C., has given the Library a small group of the papers of her father, Edwin Milton Hood, Washington correspondent for the Associated Press from 1875 until his death in 1923. Hood's particular province was the Department of State, and the papers reflect his friendship with such diplomats as John Hay, Cecil A. Spring-Rice, and Lord Bryce.

Recent National Archives accessions include records of the Temporary Alaska Claims Commission, consisting chiefly of correspondence, photographs, financial statements, vouchers, and the report of the commission dated October 10, 1964; abstracts and original vouchers with supporting records of the Geological Survey, 1887-1888; and the film entitled "The State Funeral of Sir Winston Churchill," January 1965.

Records of the Department of State recently microfilmed include Records from the Decimal File, 1910-1929, Relating to Internal Affairs of Great Britain (249 rolls); of Panama (58 rolls); and of Liberia (34 rolls); and to Political Relations between the United States and Panama (14 rolls); and Panama and Other States (3 rolls). Also recently completed are Records of the City of Georgetown (D. C.), 1800-1879 (49 rolls); and Letters Sent by the Indian Division of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, 1849-1903 (127 rolls). Military records

filmed include the Index to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Soldiers Who Served during the War of 1812 (234 rolls); Inspection Reports of the Office of the Inspector General, 1814-1842 (3 rolls); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series), 1822-1860 (636 rolls); Compiled Records Showing Service of Military Units in Volunteer Union Organizations (225 rolls); Selected Records of the War Department Relating to Confederate Prisoners of War, 1861-1865 (145 rolls); Letters and Telegrams Sent by the Confederate Adjutant and Inspector General, 1861-1865 (6 rolls); and Reports and Decisions of the Provost Marshal General, 1863-1866 (1 roll).

The National Archives has recently issued *National Archives Accessions*, Number 59, which contains a list of records received from July 1, 1963, to June 30, 1964.

On August 6, 1965, Mr. W. W. Heath, chairman of the Board of Regents of the University of Texas, wrote to President Johnson offering on behalf of the university to donate a site for and to construct and equip the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library. The library would be in the immediate vicinity of the university's campus. It was also proposed that a Lyndon Baines Johnson Institute of Public Service be associated with the library. On September 6, 1965, the President approved a joint resolution of Congress authorizing the Administrator of General Services to accept this offer. Like the other presidential libraries, it will be administered by the General Services Administration through its National Archives and Records Service.

Among recent accessions of the Harry S. Truman Library are the papers, 1920-1965, of Tom L. Evans, long-time associate of former President Truman, secretary of the corporation that built the library building, and treasurer of the Truman Library Institute; files of the Harry S. Truman Library Institute for National and International Affairs, 1957-1963; and a set of the *Democratic Digest*, 1922-1952, from Mrs. India Edwards, former vice-president of the Democratic National Committee.

Plans are being made to open a substantial part of the manuscripts and other holdings of the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library for research use on April 1, 1966. Application for access to the holdings for research purposes should be addressed to the director of the library.

Implementing its policy of emphasizing microfilm publication of "documentary sources significant to the history of the United States," the National Historical Publications Commission has granted \$67,184 to Cornell University, the University of Washington, Kansas State Historical Society, Nebraska State Historical Society, University of Notre Dame, University of North Carolina, and University of Virginia. A number of selected collections will be filmed at each institution, and copies of the films will be available for sale or for loan. In addition, an allocation of \$15,356 has been made to the National Park Service for the filming of the important Lloyd W. Smith Collection, which emphasizes the period of the American Revolution, at Morristown National Historical Park.

Directors and editors of the eleven institutions with microfilm publication programs aided by commission grants met at the National Archives on May 25 and 26 in what is probably the first conference ever held on the microfilm publication of historical source materials. Objectives, standards, and production prob-

lems were discussed, and the microfilm publication activities of the National Archives and the Library of Congress were studied. It was decided that the commission will issue from time to time a catalogue of the papers filmed under its program. Modest grants to encourage and assist letterpress publication projects have been made to Rice University for *The Papers of Jefferson Davis* (Haskell Monroe, editor), to the Ulysses S. Grant Association for *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant* (being edited at the University of Southern Illinois by John Y. Simon), to Wayne State University for *The Papers of Henry R. Schoolcraft* (Philip Mason, editor), and to the University of Missouri for *Circular Letters of Congressmen to Their Constituents, 1789-1829* (Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., editor). In addition, allocations have been made from funds supplied by the Ford Foundation to continue work on *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* at Princeton University (Julian P. Boyd, editor), *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton* at Columbia University (Harold C. Syrett and Jacob E. Cooke, editors), and *The Adams Papers* at the Massachusetts Historical Society (Lyman H. Butterfield, chief editor).

In an effort to get under way its long-recommended project for an edition of *The Papers of John Marshall*, the commission has offered to provide half the estimated cost for four years provided matching funds can be found within a year. This technique may be used in other instances to give the commission more initiative with priority needs in documentary publication. To determine priority needs, the commission has circularized several hundred specialists in American history and is tabulating the results for its guidance.

Two new members attended their first meeting of the NHPC on September 17, 1965: Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., and Professor Henry F. Graff of Columbia University.

The commission recommended and the Administrator of General Services approved grants to support two letterpress and four microfilm projects. The letterpress projects are *The Papers of Isaac Backus* (Robert G. McLoughlin, editor) at Brown University and *The Susquehannah Company Papers* (Robert J. Taylor, editor) at the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. The microfilm projects are the Peter B. Porter Papers (Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society), the Albert Gallatin Papers (New York University), the Minutes and Official Correspondence of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Science, 1812-1924 (Philadelphia Academy of Natural Science), and the Bexar Archives, about 1717-1836 (University of Texas).

On August 2, 1965, the General Services Administration, Office of the Federal Register, inaugurated a *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*. It contains transcripts of the President's news conferences, messages to Congress, public speeches, remarks, statements, and other materials released by the White House up to 5:00 p.m. each Friday.

The Widener Library of Harvard University has received a microfilm copy of the inventory of the Trésor des Chartes of Pierre Dupuy and Théodore Godefroy as a gift honoring Charles Holt Taylor. The inventory will prove useful to students of medieval and early modern French history. Scholars can secure the microfilm through interlibrary loan.

The papers of Emil Lorch, architectural historian, have been arranged and

catalogued and are ready for use among the Michigan Historical Collections at the University of Michigan.

The University of Virginia Library and the Stettinius Fund, Inc., have completed microfilming the State Department scrapbooks of Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Undersecretary (1943-1944) and Secretary of State (1944-1945). They contain more than fifteen hundred pages of clippings from magazines and newspapers throughout the United States on American diplomacy from 1944 to 1945. Additional information is available through Stettinius Fellow, Manuscripts Division, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Virginia.

A recent grant from the Old Dominion Foundation has enabled the New York Public Library to begin the compilation of a new "Guide to the Research Collections." It is to be organized on the basis of academic disciplines: history, literature, languages, and so forth, with special sections on such materials as newspapers, public documents, and manuscripts. Descriptions of the holdings will include such information as number of volumes, special features, and strengths and weaknesses of specific collections.

The Social Welfare History Archives Center, established at the University of Minnesota for the collection of the records of welfare agencies, associations, and leaders, announced that the Survey Associates, National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers (NFS), and Paul U. Kellogg collections are ready for use. They contain materials pertinent to research in twentieth-century social welfare and related areas.

The Toronto Public Library has acquired thirty-eight volumes of the "Jesuit Relations" of the Canadian mission. While twenty-two volumes will be retained for its own collection, the remainder will be available to the National Archives, the University of Toronto Library, and the province of Quebec.

Researchers who want to use the archives of the Foreign Office of the German Federal Republic at Bonn should indicate this at least four months in advance of arrival there. Such requests should be sent to *Leiter des Politischen Archivs, Auswärtiges Amt*, Bonn, or to the Cultural Attaché, American Embassy, Bonn.

GRANTS, AWARDS, PRIZES

The following institutions received American Council of Learned Society grants to develop further their American studies programs: the Royal Library of Belgium, the Center of American Studies, Rome, the University of East Anglia, and the University of Leiden.

The Social Welfare History Archives Center at the University of Minnesota received a grant of forty thousand dollars from the National Institute of Mental Health to continue acquiring historical records and files from all parts of the country in the areas of social work, social welfare, and reform.

The United States Conference of Mayors has received a Ford Foundation grant to prepare a study of government assistance in preserving architectural and historical landmarks.

Fulbright scholars lecturing overseas in 1965-1966 include the following historians: Donald J. Berthrong (Hong Kong), Jerome I. Fischman (Costa Rica), David Long (Uganda), Samuel Osgood (France).

The American Council of Learned Societies has granted fellowships to the following European historians for work in American studies during 1965-1966: David K. Adams, Henrik Enander, Wolfgang J. Helbich, Duncan J. MacLeod, Guenter E. Moltmann, Howard R. Temperley, and John D. Walsh.

The Social Science Research Council has awarded faculty research grants to these historians for work in American studies for the year 1965-1966: Allan G. Bogue, Lawrence W. Levine, and Norman Dain.

Joint committees of the ACLS and the SSRC have awarded the following grants for research for 1965-1966: *African Studies Program*—Fred J. Berg, Louis Brenner, Steven M. Feierman, James D. Graham, Kennell A. Jackson, and William F. Lye. *Asia and Near East Studies Program*—Frank P. Baldwin, Jr., Philip B. Calkins, Paul Friedland, Ivan P. Hall, Paula S. Johnson, David N. Keightley, Thomas L. Kennedy, Ian J. Kerr, Lawrence D. Kessler, Matthew V. Lamberti, Bruce W. McGowan, George A. McGrane, Peter M. Mitchell, Roy P. Mottahedeh, Friedrich G. Notehelfer, John F. Richards, Arthur L. Rosenbaum, Richard J. Smethurst, Charles D. Smith, Jr., Henry D. Smith, George W. Spencer, Glen W. Swanson, Royall Tyler, John R. Watt, John K. Whitmore, and Alexander B. Woodside. *Latin American Studies Program*—Carlos E. Cortes, David M. Davidson, Ronald H. Dolkart, June E. Hahner, Michael McD. Hall, John H. Hann, Peter F. Klaren, Linda F. Leopold, Joseph L. Love, Jr., Mary Lowenthal, Peter G. Marzahl, Harold D. Sims, and John D. Wirth. *Soviet and East European Studies Program*—John T. Alexander, Kendall E. Bailes, Peter B. Golden, Ellen Stiskin Hurwitz, Ingrid Lafleur, William B. Lincoln, Harold A. McFarlin, Thomas G. Pesek, Geraldine M. Phipps, Mark Pinson, William G. Rosenberg, Andrew Rossos, Richard L. Rudolph, Joseph Schiebel, Gale Stokes, Charles E. Timberlake, Aurele J. Violette, and Betty Jo Winchester. *Western European Studies Program*—William B. Cohen, Alexander J. De Grand, Gerald N. Izenberg, Dominick C. LaCapra, Michael A. Ledeen, Charles S. Maier, and Jack E. Reece. *Postdoctoral Fellowship Program in Latin American Studies*—Michael D. Butler.

Jerry M. Anderson, Ian J. Bickerton, Susan M. Hartmann, Alfred L. Lorenz, Ruth P. Morgan, Davis R. B. Ross, Athan G. Theoharis, and Harold L. Wallace have received grants-in-aid from the Harry S. Truman Library Institute for projects that involve the Truman administration and the history and nature of the presidency of the United States.

The 1965 Bancroft Prizes honoring the authors of "the best books in American history in its broadest sense, American diplomacy, and American international relations" were awarded to Dorothy Borg for *The United States and the Far Eastern Crisis of 1933-1938*, to Bradford Perkins for *Castlereagh and Adams: England and the United States, 1812-1823*, and to William B. Willcox for *Portrait of a General: Sir Henry Clinton in the War of Independence*.

Herbert Gambrell received the Summerfield G. Roberts Award for the annotated edition of his *Anson Jones, the Last President of Texas*.

Robert E. Herzstein was awarded a faculty fellowship from the National Center for Education in Politics for 1965-1966 in order to serve as special aid in the office of Governor John N. Dempsey of Connecticut.

The Swedish government has presented the Royal Order of the Northern Star to Merle Curti for his pioneer work as a lecturer in the field of American studies in Sweden.

Martin Levey received the Dexter Award of the American Chemical Society's Division of History of Chemistry.

Hans Baron has received the *Premio Internazionale Forte dei Marmi per la Storia italiana*, awarded under the auspices of the University of Pisa.

Through the *Theodor Koerner-Stiftungsfonds zur Foerderung von Wissenschaft und Kunst* in Vienna, Radomir Luza received the Price Award toward the completion of the writing of the history of the socialist international of youth.

Richard M. Huber and Wheaton J. Lane, editors of "The New Jersey Historical Series," received the New Jersey Historical Society Award for 1965.

Raymond J. Maras shared third prize in the University of Dayton's Alumni Faculty Award for achievement in 1964-1965.

PUBLICATIONS

A number of universities with major Latin American programs are cooperating to produce the *Latin American Research Review*, under the editorship of Richard P. Schaedel. The journal is for systematic communication of research among individuals and institutions concerned with Latin American studies; further information can be obtained from the editor, *Latin American Research Review*, University of Texas, Box L, Austin, Texas 78712.

OTHER HISTORICAL NEWS

The eighth biennial Archivists' and Historians' Conference of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, sponsored by the Concordia Historical Institute and the Department of Archives and History of the Missouri Synod, was held October 19-21 at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, Missouri.

RECENT DEATHS

Florence Janson Sherriff Fisher died in January 1965.

Matthew M. Fryde of New York City died March 15.

Silas Bent McKinley of St. Louis, Missouri, a life member of the Association, died March 17.

Willis Thornton, director of the Western Reserve University Press, died May 20, at the age of sixty-five.

Donald J. Breen of McKeesport, Pennsylvania, died May 21.

Thomas W. Streeter of Morristown, New Jersey, died June 12.

G. Frederick Frost of Rumford, Rhode Island, a life member of the Association, died June 17.

Elihu J. Sutherland of Clintwood, Virginia, died July 9.

Arthur W. Thompson, a professor at the University of Florida, died July 12, at the age of forty-four. His works include *Jacksonian Democracy on the Florida Frontier* and *A Guide to the Principal Sources for American Civilization, 1800-1900, in the City of New York* (with Harry J. Carman).

Raymond W. Albright of Cambridge, Massachusetts, died July 15.

James T. Shotwell of New York City died July 15, at the age of ninety. He graduated from the University of Toronto in 1898 and received his doctorate from Columbia University in 1903, where he began his teaching career in 1900. At his death, he was Bryde Professor Emeritus of the History of International Relations at Columbia. He was president emeritus of the Carnegie Endowment since 1950, and had been general editor of its "Economic and Social History of the [First] World War" and director of its division of economics and history. His public career began as adviser to Woodrow Wilson in 1917, when he became a member of the Inquiry, and for almost fifty years he was recognized as a leading protagonist of internationalism in the United States.

Julian Park, dean emeritus of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Buffalo (State University of New York, Buffalo) and a life member of the Association, died July 17, at the age of seventy-seven. He attended Williams College, the University of Paris, and Columbia University, and he was a founder of the college where he served as dean for nearly forty years. His publications include *Napoleon in Captivity*, *A Soldier of Napoleon*, and *The Culture of France in Our Time*.

Walter Prichard, professor emeritus at Louisiana State University, died August 2, at the age of seventy-eight. He joined the Louisiana State University faculty in 1919, where he served as head of the history department until 1946. He was then named to the François Xavier Martin Chair of Louisiana history. In addition to editing the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* from 1934 to 1949, he founded the Louisiana State University archives.

Alfred H. Bill of Princeton, New Jersey, died August 10.

M. Eugene Sirmans, Jr., an assistant professor at Emory University, died August 30.

Mikhail N. Tikhomirov, a member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and a professor at Moscow State University, died in September. His numerous

publications include *Drevnerusskie goroda* [Old Russian Towns], *Srednevekovaiia Moskva* [Medieval Moscow], and *Rossiiia v xvi veke* [Russia in the Sixteenth Century]; he also edited many volumes relating to Russian history of the pre-Petrine era. He was an honorary member of the Association.

William M. Robinson, Jr., of Quincy, Florida, died September 24.

Wilbur Luecke, a professor at Concordia Collegiate Institute for thirty-eight years, and Eero Raig of West Hartford, Connecticut, died October 12.

James B. Hedges, George L. Littlefield Professor of History at Brown University for thirty-one years, died October 13, at the age of seventy-three. Having received his bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Missouri and his doctorate from Harvard University, he taught at Clark University and Harvard University before going to Brown in 1931. In addition to serving twice as chairman of the history department, he made frequent contributions to scholarly journals, wrote the American history section for the *Encyclopedia of World History*, and was a member of the Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review* from 1950 to 1955. His works include *Henry Villard and the Railways of the Northwest*, *Building the Canadian West*, *The Browns of Providence Plantations: Colonial Years*, and *Westward Expansion* (with Ray Allen Billington).

Constantine E. McGuire, a life member of the American Historical Association and its Treasurer from 1930 to 1936, died in New York City, October 22, at the age of seventy-five.

Born in Boston, he graduated from Harvard, *magna cum laude*, in 1911, where he received his master's degree in the following year and his Ph.D. in 1914. What was to be the major activity of his life was largely determined when he was appointed Research Assistant, Assistant Secretary-General, and finally Secretary-General of the Inter-American High Commission, established to coordinate the financial policies of the American states. With his background as a specialist in international law as it related to economic matters, he served for the better part of his life as consultant to various governments and wrote on legal and economic subjects. A devout layman, he edited *Catholic Builders of the Nation: A Symposium of the Catholic Contribution to the Civilization of the United States* in five volumes.

He founded the School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University and the Institute of World Politics and served as president of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1933. His friends will remember him for his great competence in his field and for his self-effacing modesty. He served the American Historical Association well. At the time he became Treasurer, the Association was regularly faced with a deficit for each ensuing year. He re-examined its whole financial structure, and by introducing sound business policies, laid the basis for the improved financial position of the Association at the present time.

E. R. Adair, Warner M. Bentley, James W. Brown, Charles E. Cauthen, F. Roger Dunn, C. B. Leonard, Edwin M. Smyrl, Herbert Solow, and F. Weaver Thornton, all former members of the Association, died recently.

COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Since Professor Gatzke neglected to tell in his review (*AHR*, LXX [Apr. 1965], 744) what my book, *Hindenburg and the Weimar Republic*, is about, I would like to acquaint your readers with some of its points.

The study tries to view Hindenburg in the context of the contemporary scene and to explore the interaction of President and nation upon each other. I list some of the themes that emerged: (1) Despite the high esteem in which he was held, Hindenburg owed both his elections to strife-torn coalitions far more interested in keeping his opponent out of the presidency than in seeing him become President. After both elections large numbers of his voters turned against him; left without steady, cohesive support, he was unwilling to forge it for himself, drifting along rather than stabilizing conditions. (2) The republican forces on their part failed to develop a proper working relationship with him—the Social Democrats dreaded the possibility of his resignation even in the years 1926–1928, yet repeatedly ignored his willingness to take them into the government or retain them in it, thus confirming his distrust of democracy. (3) His quasi-monarchical status created enormous difficulties for his presidential cabinets: though they derived their authority from his special confidence, he would rarely support them openly; nor could they call publicly on his support lest he be drawn into “party politics.” This in turn affected greatly course and outcome of the *Reichstag* elections of 1930 and 1932; it enabled the Nazis to fight the elections over the misleading issue of authoritarianism versus a discredited parliamentarism whereas the actual issue was Hindenburg’s authoritarianism versus Hitler’s brand. Throughout, in fact, Hitler was greatly aided by the fact that his real *Gegenspieler* was hardly ever seen or heard by the country. (4) Hindenburg’s attitude toward the Nazis was less than clear cut before 1933; after Hitler became Chancellor, he readily acquiesced in most of the *Führer’s* actions. (The controversy about the Marshal’s mental condition arose largely over his appointment of Hitler and his subsequent failure to check him; I have tried to show that neither position was out of character.) (5) In spite of all, a deep-seated faith in his alleged strength and wisdom survived to the end, enabling Hitler to capitalize on it in consolidating his own position, yet at the same time inspiring the hope in millions of Germans, including Brüning and the exiled Socialist leaders, that the Marshal would somehow stop Hitler.

As for new materials on Hindenburg, apart from those on his relations with Socialists, *Stahlhelm*, Nazis, and other groups, the study shows him to have been less loyal to William II than is generally thought. I mention but a few new data on individual events: the crucial role played by pro-Hindenburg Centrists and Democrats in assuring his election in 1925, the prehistory of his re-election, the actual course of the important Hindenburg-Hitler meeting in August 1932. As for outside influences on Hindenburg about which Gatzke wonders, the role of Westarp, Von Berg, Schleicher, East Prussian landowners, and fellow generals is examined at length and its impact traced in test cases such as the Locarno Pact, the expropriation of princely properties, the Young plan, and the Brüning-Schleicher struggle. Whether beyond this I have contributed something to the re-creation of the political and social atmosphere of those years and provided a more complete and accurate source of information on my topic than has been available so far, the reader will have to decide. He will also have to decide whether I succeeded in

bringing the Marshal to life and did justice to the human drama that overshadowed his presidency; Dr. Gatzke misquotes me when he attributes to me the assertion that Hindenburg lacks interest for the historian.

I did not consult the files of the German Foreign Office because I felt, as Gatzke now confirms, that they would yield only few helpful data. The Hindenburg family declined to give me access to the President's papers. Meissner's papers, his son has informed me, were lost in 1945. Brüning, after providing some helpful information, referred me to his memoirs, as yet unpublished, and left all further inquiries unanswered. I examined the books Dr. Gatzke misses in my bibliography, but did not find in them any material of special usefulness to my study.

Ohio State University

ANDREAS DORPALEN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Thank you for giving space in the April 1965 issue of the *American Historical Review* (p. 897) to comment on my recent book, *Insurrection in South Carolina*.

The reviewer is, of course, entitled to his opinions of the book. But I hope you will allow me to take issue with what I feel are erroneous bases for some of these opinions.

For his skeptical view of the Denmark Vesey plot, which is the subject of my book, Rogers relies heavily on Richard C. Wade's article on the event in the May 1964 issue of the *Journal of Southern History*. He says, among other things, that my book is not "based on so wide a study of immediate source materials . . . as is Wade's 18-page article." Yet if one compares the original documents cited by Wade and those listed in my extensive bibliography, he could hardly fail to conclude that, judged by bulk alone, Rogers' statement is not justifiable. Close examination of Wade's documentation will reveal that, except for a few legislative petitions (providing information for which I had equally reliable sources), the only Wade sources that I did not cite were four letters from Anna H. Johnson and nine manuscript pages from the William and Benjamin Hammett Papers. I do not think that even Wade would claim that these two sources alone radically changed his interpretation from what it otherwise would have been. Anna Johnson, for example, was only one of many whose letters of that period commented on the Vesey affair. I made use of a great many such letters. It is true that William Johnson, Anna's father, was a major participant in the Vesey affair. But it is also true that I made extensive use of original material from William Johnson.

Rogers says that I take "every statement presented throughout the trial as proof of the existence of a plot." This statement overlooks the various qualifying remarks in my narrative, such as my statements that Vesey "reportedly" traveled for recruiting purposes and that the size of Vesey's following "was never really known." It also overlooks the following cautionary passage in my notes (p. 259):

In narrating the preparations for insurrection in this chapter, the writer is aware that much of the evidence as to what happened is hearsay. Some of it may also have been prompted by a desire on the part of the witnesses to gain clemency or turn attention from themselves. For these reasons, the narration is not being offered as a precise presentation of events as they occurred. Yet the narration is based on the evidence as recorded by and believed by the court. And since today we have little means of independently judging its probative value, the court record is the best source we have. With these reservations in mind, the writer has in this chapter made extensive use of the *Official Report* in the interest of relating a coherent story and of showing what contemporary Charleston authorities believed to have happened.

In chiding me for my criticism of the court despite my acceptance of the prosecution's evidence, Rogers seems to be completely oblivious to Anglo-American law's usual guarantees of certain procedural protections to an accused no matter how overwhelming the evidence against him.

I hope other readers of my book will judge it after a more careful evaluation of its total content than Rogers has given.

Pittsburgh Post Gazette

JOHN LOFTON

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In the review you printed by Professor Werner Levi of Raymond Esthus' book, *From Enmity to Alliance: U. S.-Australian Relations, 1931-1941* (AHR, LXX [July 1965], 1153), Mr. Levi writes that Mr. Esthus fashioned a "procrustean bed," stretching his dull material to fit a dramatic frame. This charge is itself "procrustean," for it appears that the reviewer has his own concept of US-Australian relations in mind and is determined to amputate any part of the author's work that extends beyond the limits he would set.

Thus Mr. Levi takes no note of Mr. Esthus' statement that his book is a study of an "aspect of Anglo-American relations" during the period when the Dominions began to emerge "as distinct international entities" and as "their policies came to occupy a larger and larger place in the overall picture of United States-British Commonwealth relations." Mr. Levi fails to note that the Australian Trade Diversion Policy was adopted as a result of preferences accorded Great Britain and the Commonwealth. While he himself labels the policy as "infamous," he says of its demise only that "The policy ended quickly"; this, he apparently feels, sums up the "essentials" regarding the end of this "infamous" policy. The author, on the other hand, spends a chapter showing that it was Britain's compelling need for a rapprochement with the United States that brought an end to trade diversion.

Mr. Levi states that enmity between Australia and the US could not have any significance since "their representatives accorded each other most friendly receptions." Because it is normally the duty of the diplomat to exclude any show of ill will from the conduct of his business, it would be naïve to infer that Mr. Levi really equates the tenor of diplomatic meetings with the intensity of feeling on substantive issues. One need only recall that German and Russian diplomats were according "each other most friendly receptions" right up to June 22, 1941.

Mr. Levi closes his review by deploring the reliance placed by Mr. Esthus upon State Department documents. It is difficult to comprehend a viewpoint that regards extensive use of diplomatic documents as a drawback to the writing of diplomatic history. Furthermore, Mr. Esthus has supplemented official documents with an extensive use of published material. If Mr. Levi knew of important published material neglected by Mr. Esthus, it would have been more useful to cite the omissions.

This work by Raymond Esthus is a competent and interesting study of US-Australian relations; the book deserves a better review, especially because it can be read with profit by those interested in Pacific as well as British Commonwealth and Anglo-American relations.

University of Southern California

JOHN J. REED

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Mr. Reed's second paragraph is irrelevant. It is the reviewer's task to give not a detailed summary of the book but, to quote the exemplary suggestions of the *American Historical Review*, "a brief, clear idea of the nature, content, and purpose of the volume."

Mr. Reed's third paragraph is misleading because his quotation is partial, out of context, and beside the point, to boot. I do not rest my assertion, that the alleged enmity between the USA and Australia was insignificant, on the nature of their diplomats' behavior alone. I also refer to the author's statement that the American public was totally unaware of this enmity and to the fact that the trade between the two countries increased throughout the period of the alleged enmity. The question of what the significance of the behavior of diplomats toward each other may be is interesting. I believe an evaluation would depend upon the total climate in which relations between nations take place. American-Australian relations were such that this behavior did indeed reflect the fundamentally amicable relationship, whereas this was not the case between the Soviet Union and Germany in the 1930's.

Mr. Reed's fourth paragraph is incorrect. I do not deplore reliance upon State Department documents, nor imply that such reliance might be a "drawback." I suggested that the author's evaluation might have been more balanced had he relied on other sources "in addition to" the almost exclusively used US diplomatic correspondence.

University of Hawaii

WERNER LEVI

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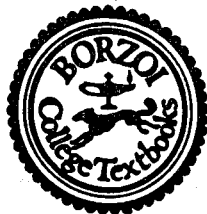
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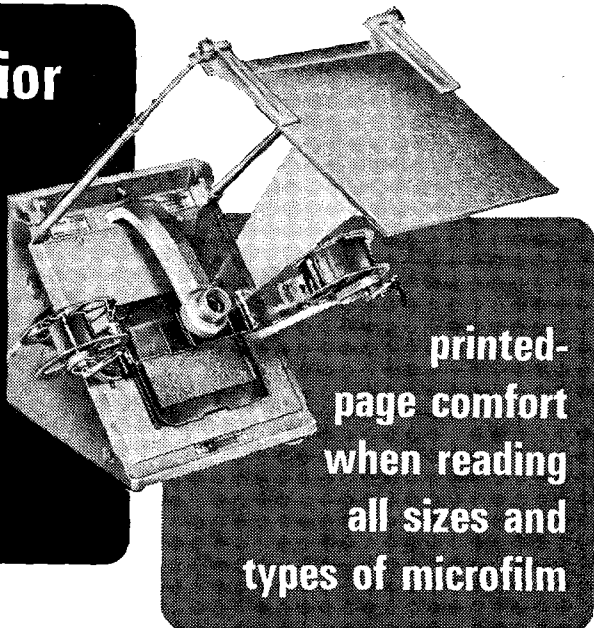
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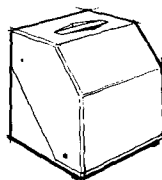
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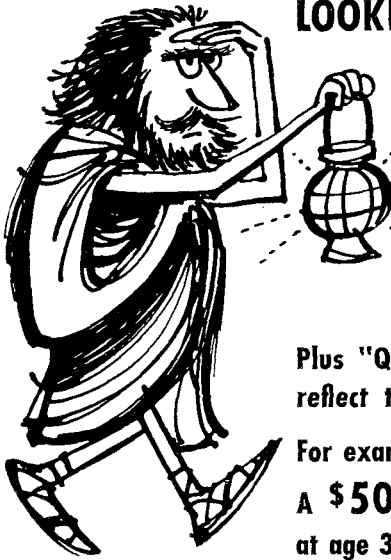
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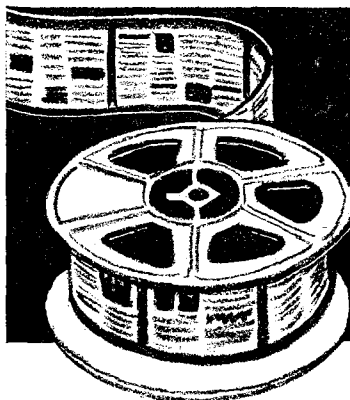
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